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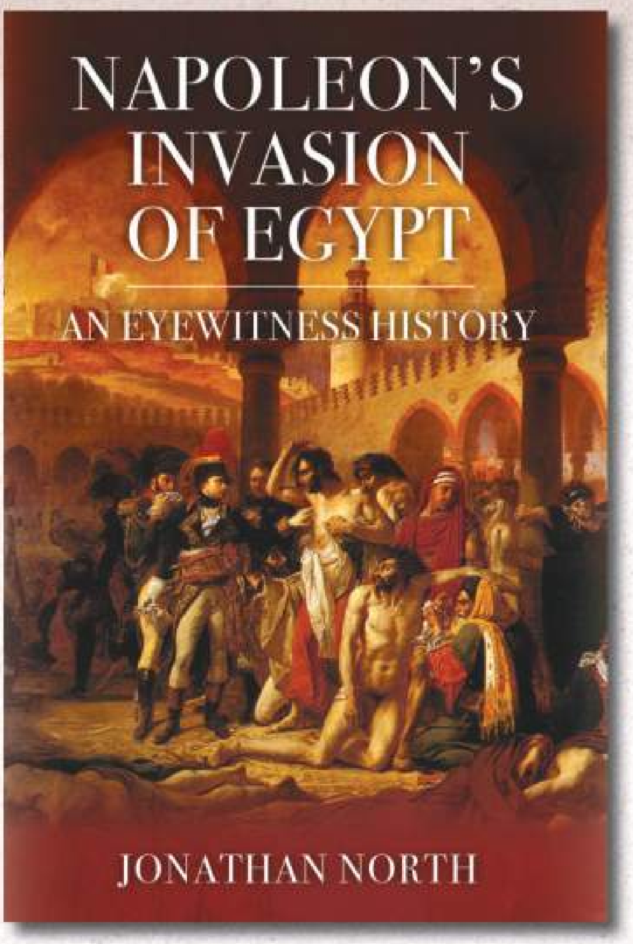
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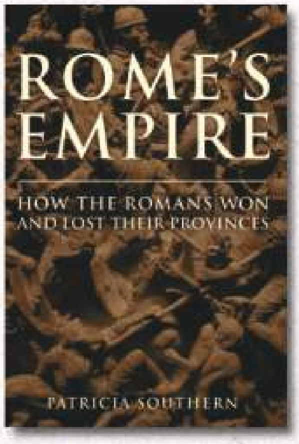
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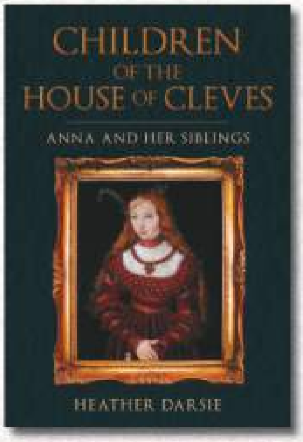
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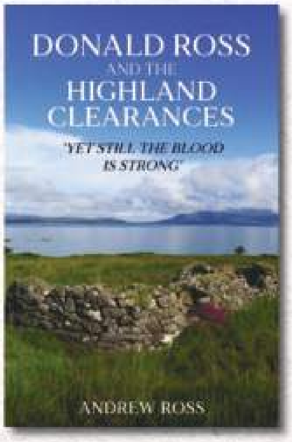
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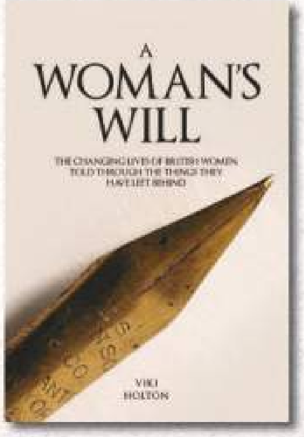
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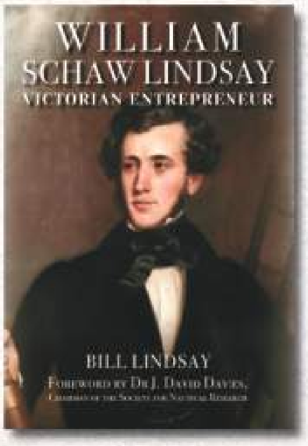
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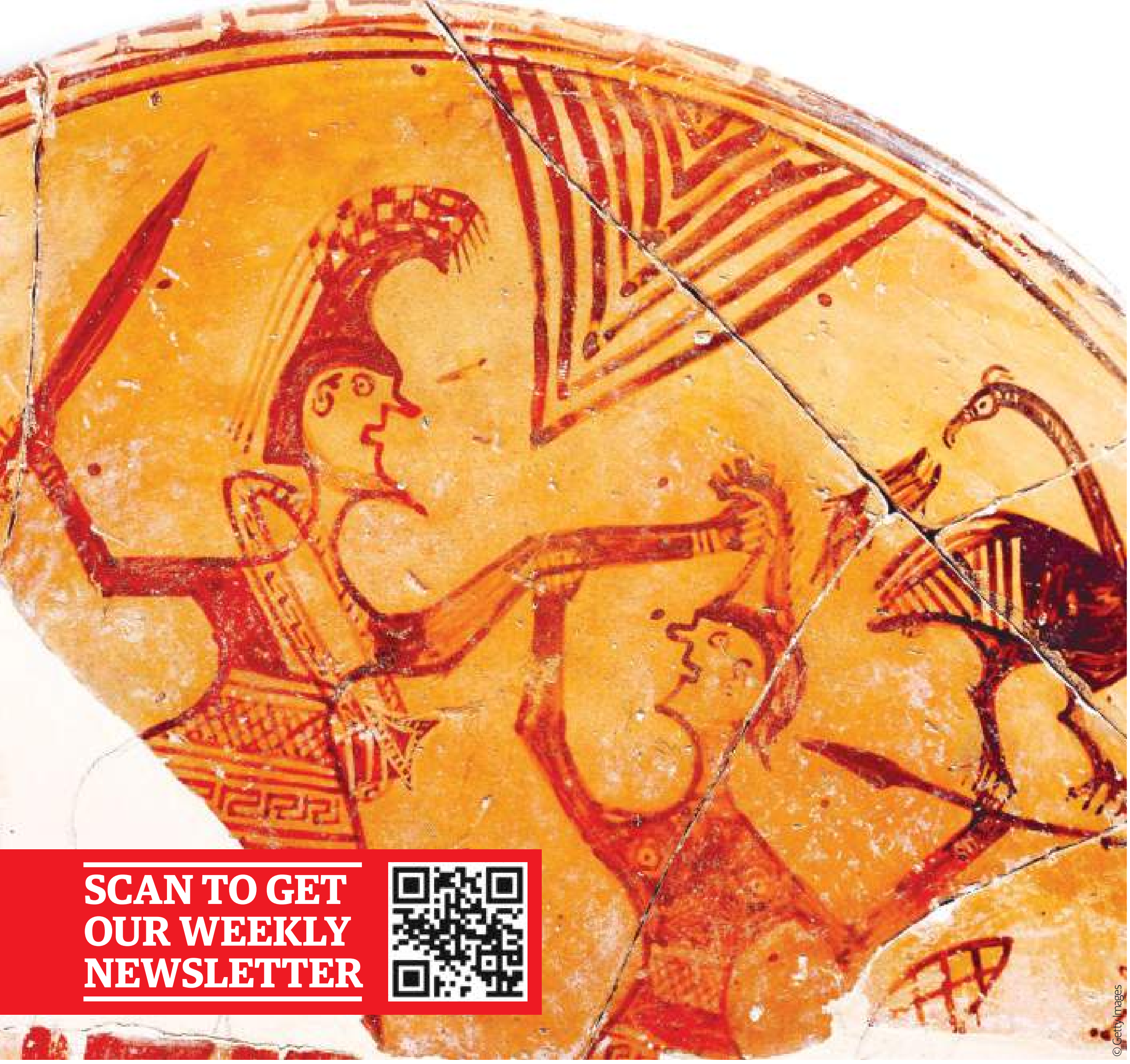

SCAN TO GET OUR WEEKLY NEWSLETTER

Achilles takes on Penthesilea, queen of the Amazons, in this Trojan War scene on a Greek terracotta votive shield

Welcome

It's rare that we get the chance to sit on the borderline of myth and history. The two rarely meet in a satisfying way. However, in the case of the city of Troy, while the myth may be fantastic, the true history is still revealing itself in exciting ways. After decades of archaeological research, with the city long thought by many to be as fictional as the Cyclops and Sirens of Homer's epic poems, we have some confidence in its location and long heritage. But what more can we say for certain about Troy and the Trojan War? Was the Greek fleet real? Was Helen abducted? Was there really a Trojan Horse?

We hope to answer as many of those questions as possible, delving beyond the myth of Troy into the real history of a once great power in the Aegean, this issue. We break down why Homer's work has been so important, what has been proven, and offer insight into what elements might be open to interpretation. Plus, we uncover the origins of the Yakuza in Japan, learn the terrible tales of the failed colonies of North America, and investigate the fascinating life of a Renaissance astronomer. We also discuss the importance, challenges and future of trans history with a panel of experts. I hope you enjoy that conversation and the rest of the magazine.

Jonathan Gordon
Editor

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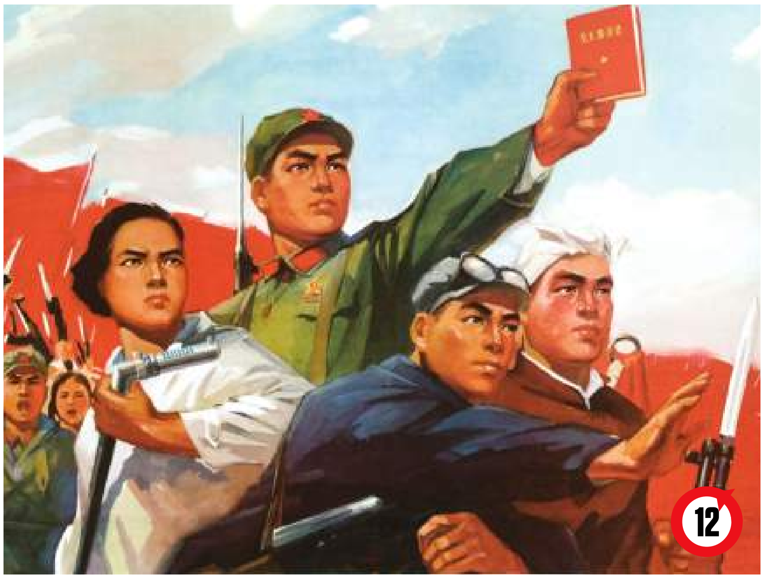
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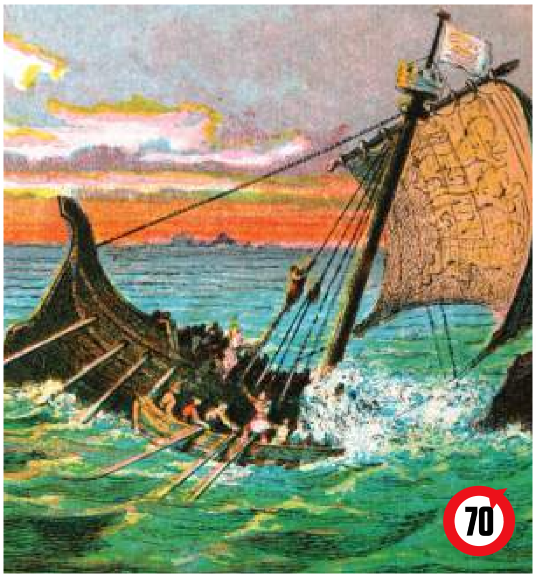
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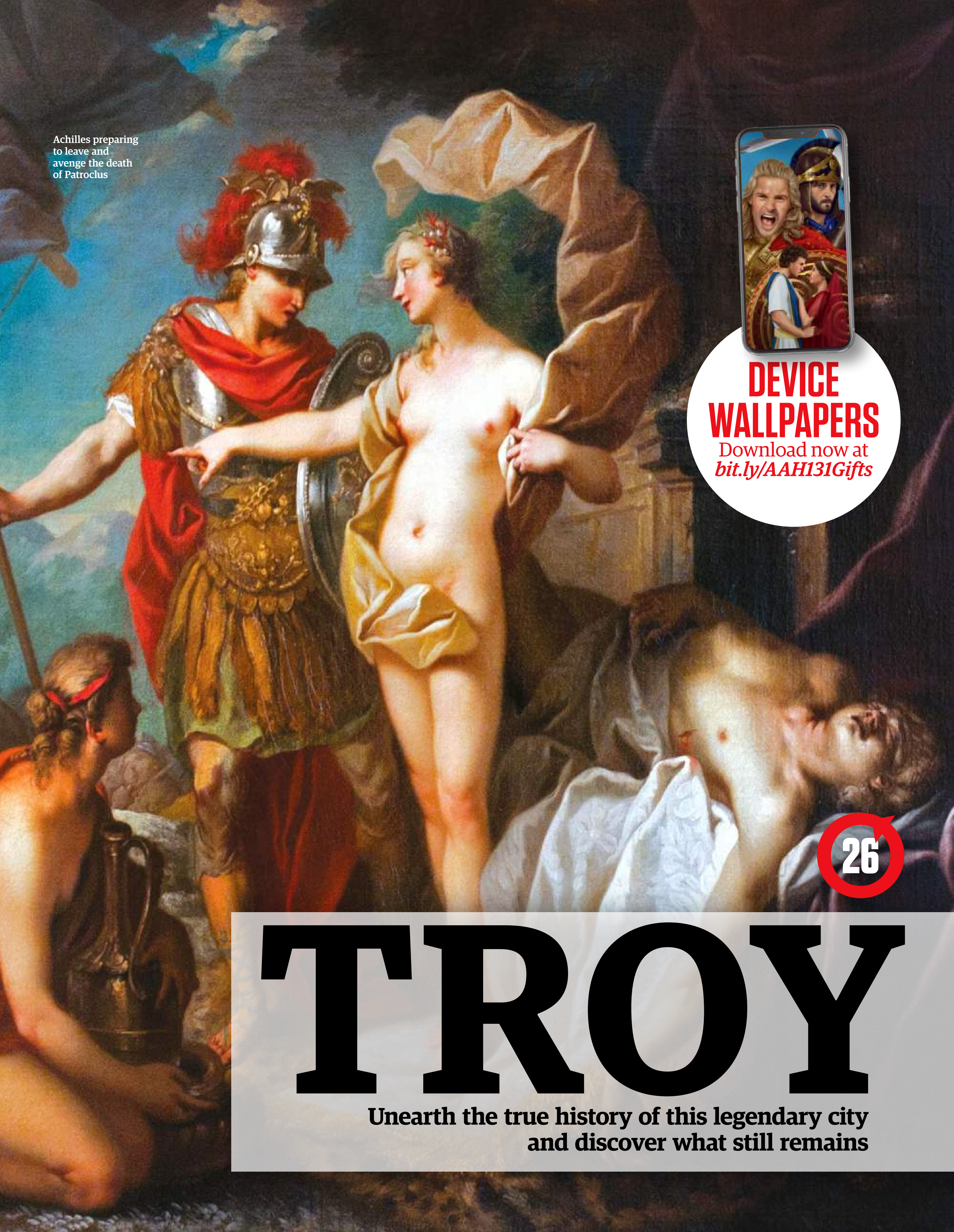

Achilles preparing to leave and avenge the death of Patroclus

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TROY

Unearth the true history of this legendary city and discover what still remains

Defining Moments

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18 June 1983

FIRST AMERICAN WOMAN GOES TO SPACE

The launch of the space shuttle Challenger for NASA's STS-7 mission marked the first time an American woman had gone into space. Stanford University graduate Sally Ride had begun her training in 1979 as one of the first female NASA astronauts after answering an advertisement that she had seen in her school's newspaper. When she took off on her first mission in 1983, she became not only the first American woman but also the youngest American astronaut and third woman ever in space.

© Getty Images

5 July 1996

DOLLY THE SHEEP IS BORN

Dolly the sheep was the first mammal to be cloned from an adult cell. Created by the Roslin Institute in Scotland, Dolly's existence began with the cell of a mammary gland from a Finn-Dorset sheep and an egg cell from a Scottish Blackface sheep. Born in July 1996 to a surrogate mother, Dolly was kept a secret for seven months. On 22 February 1997 she was revealed to the world. This picture shows Dolly in her pen being photographed by the media.

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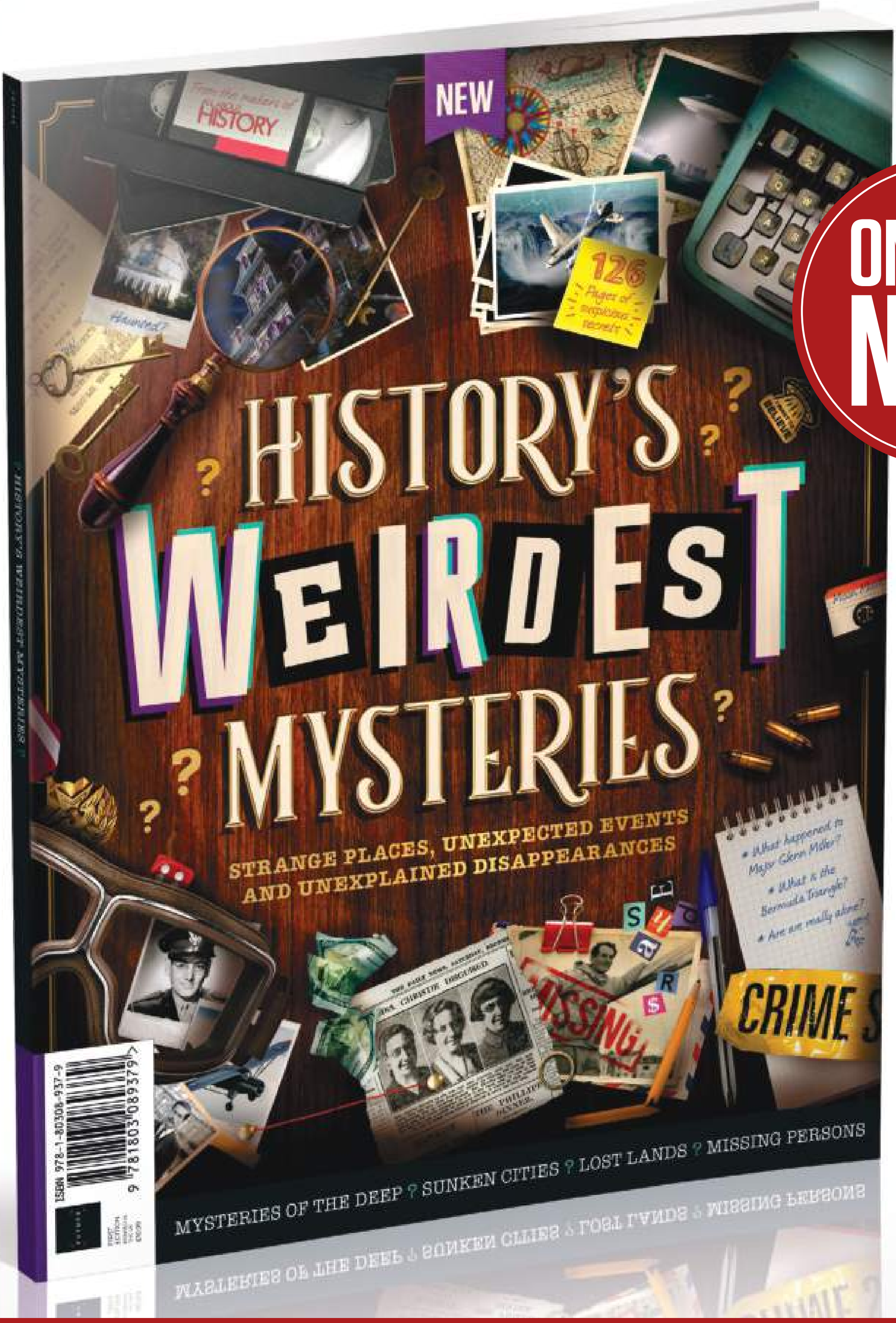
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Track the emergence of the Communist Party in China, the rise of Mao, all the way up to the modern superpower we know today

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THE VOICE OF CHINA
XGOY

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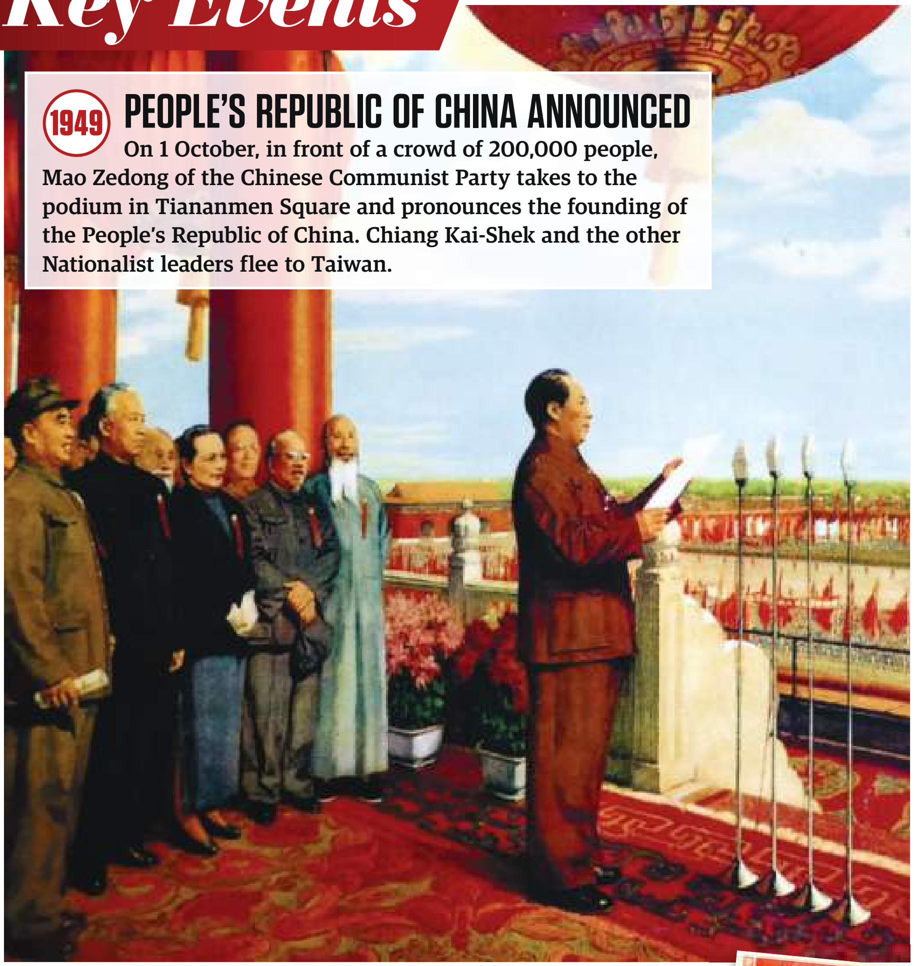
Main image: © Getty Images

Written by Callum McKelvie, Emily Staniforth

Key Events

1949 PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA ANNOUNCED

On 1 October, in front of a crowd of 200,000 people, Mao Zedong of the Chinese Communist Party takes to the podium in Tiananmen Square and pronounces the founding of the People's Republic of China. Chiang Kai-Shek and the other Nationalist leaders flee to Taiwan.



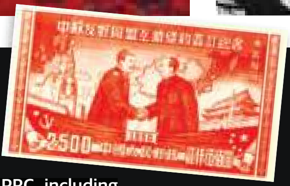
1958 GREAT LEAP FORWARD

Mao launches the second Five-Year Plan, an ambitious strategy to boost the Chinese economy and increase agricultural output. However, the plan is disastrous and ill advised. As a result, an estimated 30 million people die from starvation.

CHINESE CIVIL WAR STARTS 1927

The Chinese Civil War between the Nationalist forces led by Chiang Kai-Shek and the Communists led by Mao Zedong, begins.

SOVIET-CHINESE FRIENDSHIP PACT 1950



Representatives of the PRC, including Mao, travel to the Soviet Union to sign a 30-year commitment to alliance and mutual assistance. The pact emphasises security and economic collaboration.

FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN 1953

The Five-Year Plan is the name given to a programme of rapid industrialisation. It is designed to increase economic development and is launched with the assistance of the Soviet Union.

1949 1958 1966

LONG MARCH BEGINS 1934

Chinese communists and their supporters march some 6,000 miles in order to relocate their base. The march is romanticised by the CCP in later decades.

CHINESE FORCES ENTER THE KOREAN WAR 1950

Chinese troops enter Korea on the side of the communist north. UN forces, led by the US, join on the side of the south. The war lasts three years and ends in a ceasefire.

SINO-SOVIET BORDER CONFLICT 1969

A growing ideological split between China and the Soviet Union turns physical, with skirmishes occurring along the border. Tensions between the two countries continue for years.

1966 CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Following the disastrous Great Leap Forward, Mao Zedong attempts to regain his lost authority by launching the Cultural Revolution. This violent social movement purges the party of dangerous 'revisionists'. In reality, this is seen as an attempt by Mao to remove his enemies.

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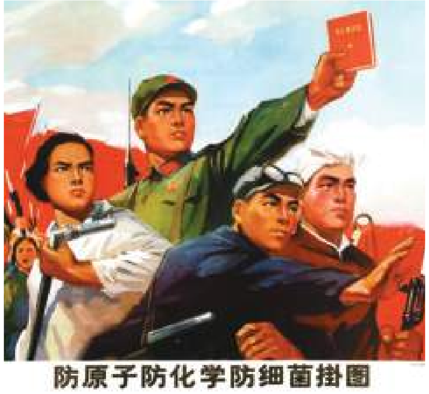
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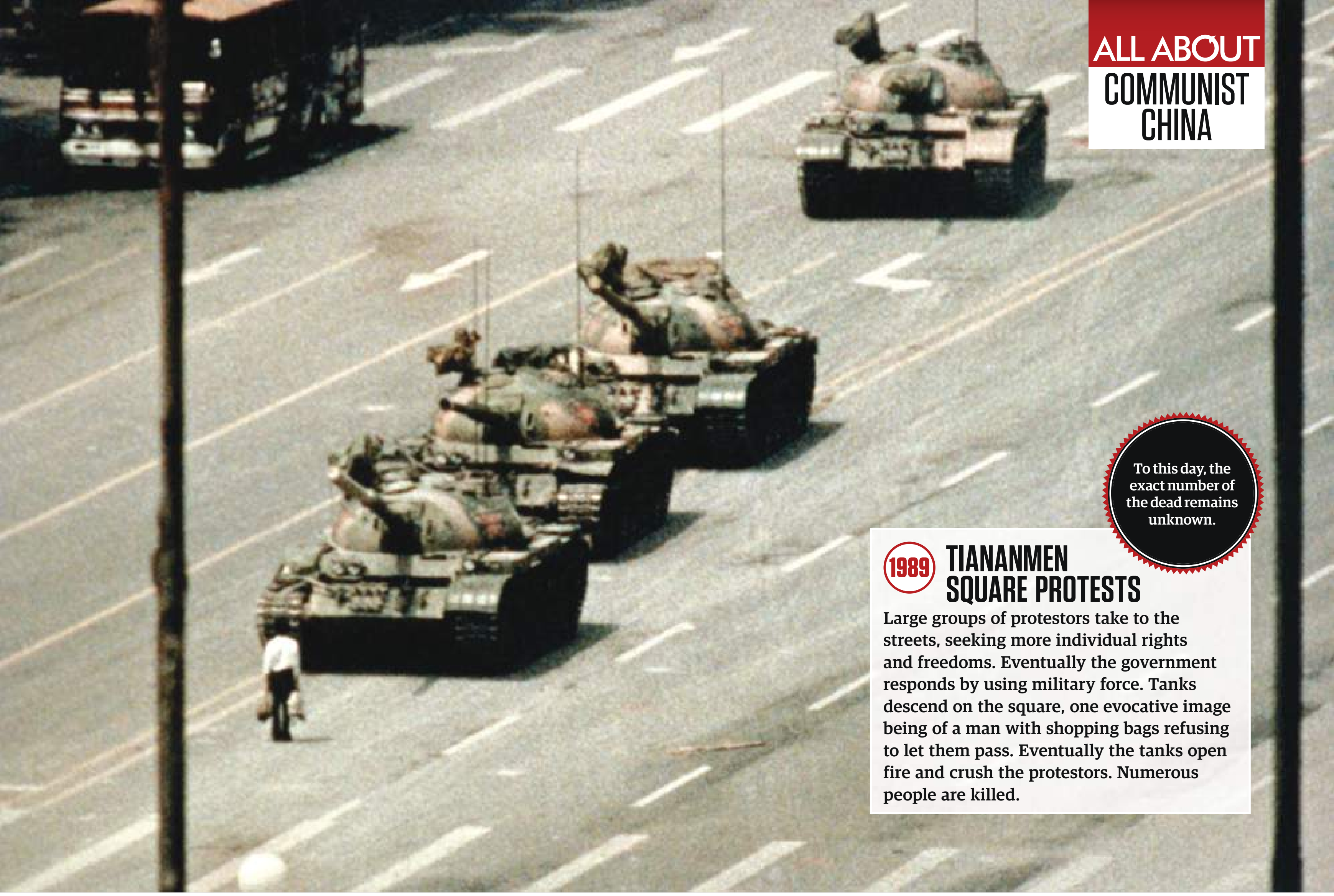
1976 THE DEATH OF MAO ZEDONG

On 9 September, Mao Zedong dies at the age of 82 after many years of declining physical health, including a series of heart attacks. The party releases a statement urging the population to rally around the party, despite the death of its leader.

The party delayed the announcement of Mao's death for 16 hours.



To this day, the exact number of the dead remains unknown.

1989 TIANANMEN SQUARE PROTESTS

Large groups of protestors take to the streets, seeking more individual rights and freedoms. Eventually the government responds by using military force. Tanks descend on the square, one evocative image being of a man with shopping bags refusing to let them pass. Eventually the tanks open fire and crush the protestors. Numerous people are killed.

CHINA JOINS THE UNITED NATIONS 1971

The PRC becomes a member of the United Nations and also a member of the security council. As such, the Republic of China in Taiwan, which previously held the seat, is expelled.

NIXON VISITS CHINA 1972

President Nixon becomes the first American President to visit Communist China. The visit marked a significant change in Sino-US relations and the beginning of a new period of collaboration.

1976

ECONOMIC ZONES CREATED 1979

In April, Deng Xiaoping announces the creation of four Special Economic Zones on the Southeastern coast. Here, four small cities are given the opportunity to develop their own infrastructure.

1989

CHINA LOSES THE BID FOR 2000 OLYMPICS 1993

Despite some excited observers mistakenly believing China has won its bid to host the 2000 Olympic Games, it is rejected due to the CCP's human rights record.

1997

CHINA LAUNCHES A MAN INTO SPACE 2003

China becomes the third country to launch a man into outer space. Astronaut Yang Liwei makes the trip in the Shenzhou 5 capsule.

BEIJING HOSTS OLYMPIC GAMES 2008

15 years after their failed bid, China hosts the 2008 Olympic Games. The games are immensely successful and allow China to present itself as an emerging global power.

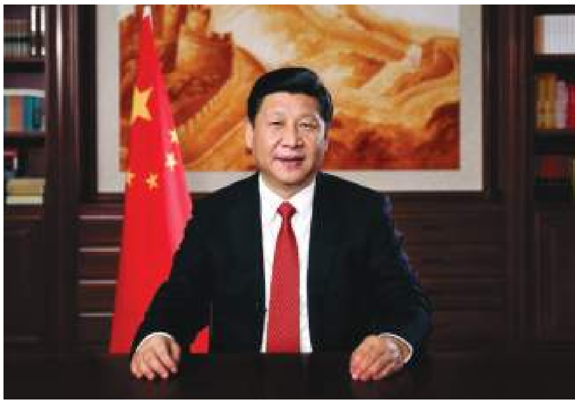
2013

1997 HONG KONG HANDOVER

After 156 years of British rule, Hong Kong is returned to Chinese control. China agrees to govern the area under the notion of "one country, two systems", reflecting the greater freedoms in Hong Kong.

2013 XI JINPING BECOMES LEADER

Xi Jinping is elected President of China by the National People's Congress. He begins with a large and sweeping 'anti-corruption' campaign. On 23 March 2023 he receives a previously unprecedented third term.



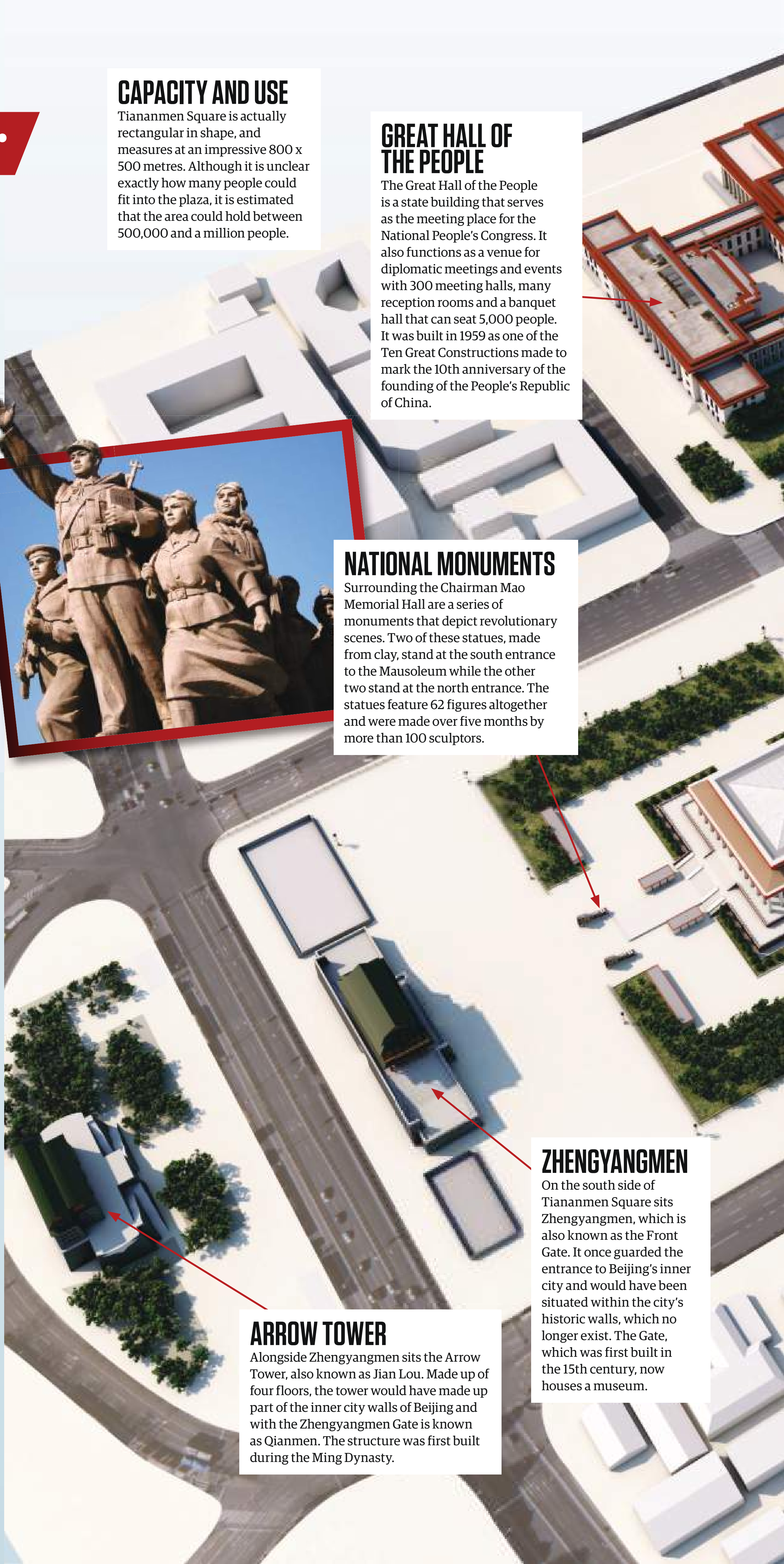
Inside History

TIANANMEN SQUARE

Beijing
1651 - present

Open public spaces are common in many cities around the world, but Tiananmen Square in Beijing is especially notable due to its vast size and cultural and political significance. Spanning 100 acres, it was once considered to be the largest public square in the world. The plaza was originally built in 1651, but on a much smaller scale than it stands today, during the rule of the Qing dynasty. However the oldest part of the Square is the Tiananmen Gate, or the Gate of Heavenly Peace, which was constructed between 1415 and 1420 by the Yongle Emperor. The Tiananmen Gate functioned as the main entrance to the Imperial City, which surrounds the Forbidden City - the home of the Chinese emperors from the 15th to the 20th century. The original Tiananmen Gate from the 1400s no longer exists as the structure, a national symbol, has been reconstructed on several occasions. The rebuilt Gate, which gives its name to the Square, stands at the plaza's northern end.

In 1958 Mao Zedong had the Square enlarged to become one of the most impressive in the world, expanding it to four times its original size. The grand plaza was intended to project communist power in China and was particularly important as the site at which Mao proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China in October 1949. For this reason, the Square continues to hold special significance in China and the site is often used as the venue for national celebrations, parades and memorials. The site is also famous as the setting of demonstrations, particularly those involving students like the May Fourth Movement of 1919 and the Tiananmen Square protests of 1989. The Square today is surrounded by a number of tourist attractions and structures of interest, and remains a popular destination for those visiting Beijing.



CAPACITY AND USE

Tiananmen Square is actually rectangular in shape, and measures at an impressive 800 x 500 metres. Although it is unclear exactly how many people could fit into the plaza, it is estimated that the area could hold between 500,000 and a million people.

GREAT HALL OF THE PEOPLE

The Great Hall of the People is a state building that serves as the meeting place for the National People's Congress. It also functions as a venue for diplomatic meetings and events with 300 meeting halls, many reception rooms and a banquet hall that can seat 5,000 people. It was built in 1959 as one of the Ten Great Constructions made to mark the 10th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China.

NATIONAL MONUMENTS

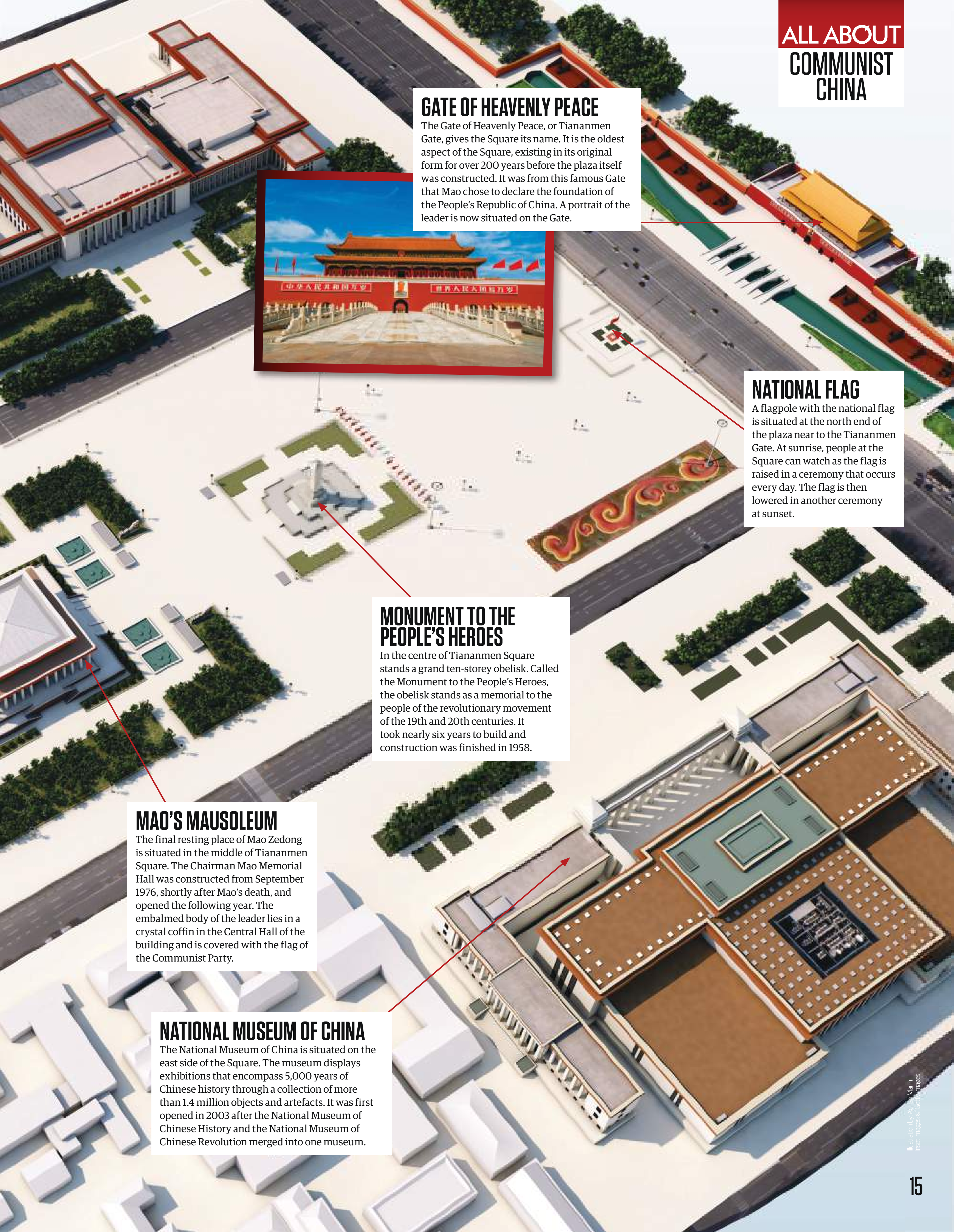
Surrounding the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall are a series of monuments that depict revolutionary scenes. Two of these statues, made from clay, stand at the south entrance to the Mausoleum while the other two stand at the north entrance. The statues feature 62 figures altogether and were made over five months by more than 100 sculptors.

ZHENGYANGMEN

On the south side of Tiananmen Square sits Zhengyangmen, which is also known as the Front Gate. It once guarded the entrance to Beijing's inner city and would have been situated within the city's historic walls, which no longer exist. The Gate, which was first built in the 15th century, now houses a museum.

ARROW TOWER

Alongside Zhengyangmen sits the Arrow Tower, also known as Jian Lou. Made up of four floors, the tower would have made up part of the inner city walls of Beijing and with the Zhengyangmen Gate is known as Qianmen. The structure was first built during the Ming Dynasty.



GATE OF HEAVENLY PEACE

The Gate of Heavenly Peace, or Tiananmen Gate, gives the Square its name. It is the oldest aspect of the Square, existing in its original form for over 200 years before the plaza itself was constructed. It was from this famous Gate that Mao chose to declare the foundation of the People's Republic of China. A portrait of the leader is now situated on the Gate.

NATIONAL FLAG

A flagpole with the national flag is situated at the north end of the plaza near to the Tiananmen Gate. At sunrise, people at the Square can watch as the flag is raised in a ceremony that occurs every day. The flag is then lowered in another ceremony at sunset.

MONUMENT TO THE PEOPLE'S HEROES

In the centre of Tiananmen Square stands a grand ten-storey obelisk. Called the Monument to the People's Heroes, the obelisk stands as a memorial to the people of the revolutionary movement of the 19th and 20th centuries. It took nearly six years to build and construction was finished in 1958.

MAO'S MAUSOLEUM

The final resting place of Mao Zedong is situated in the middle of Tiananmen Square. The Chairman Mao Memorial Hall was constructed from September 1976, shortly after Mao's death, and opened the following year. The embalmed body of the leader lies in a crystal coffin in the Central Hall of the building and is covered with the flag of the Communist Party.

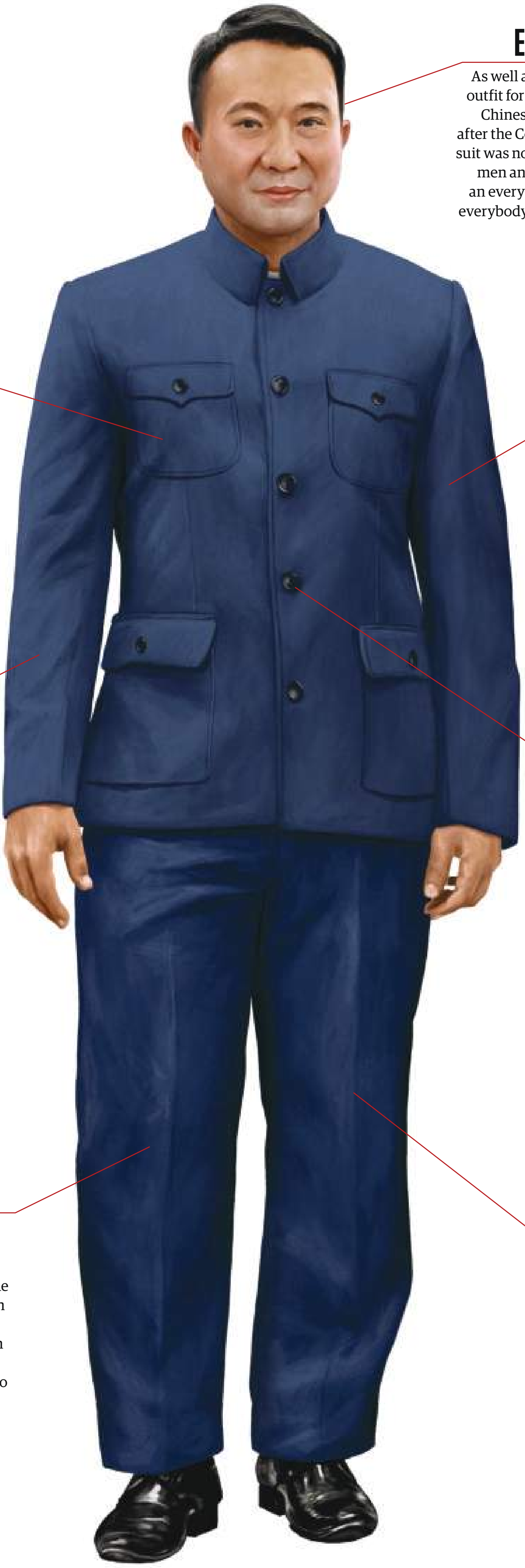
NATIONAL MUSEUM OF CHINA

The National Museum of China is situated on the east side of the Square. The museum displays exhibitions that encompass 5,000 years of Chinese history through a collection of more than 1.4 million objects and artefacts. It was first opened in 2003 after the National Museum of Chinese History and the National Museum of Chinese Revolution merged into one museum.

Illustration by: Adrian Mann
Inset images: © Getty Images

MAO SUIT

China
c.1912 - present



EVERYDAY PEOPLE

As well as being a popular choice of outfit for politicians, many ordinary Chinese people wore the Mao suit after the Communist Revolution. The suit was not gender specific, and both men and women wore the style on an everyday basis. In being worn by everybody, the suit became classless.

POCKETS

The jacket of the Mao suit was designed to have four pockets. These patch pockets represent the Four Cardinal Principles of legalist thinking from ancient Chinese philosophy. The reflected principles, or virtues, are propriety, justice, honesty and a sense of shame.

COLOURS

Not all Mao suits were made in the same colour, although there was a colour scheme that was favoured. Muted tones, mainly blacks, blues, greys and greens, were customary choices, with black in particular being popular.

ORIGINS

The Mao suit was originally known as the Sun Yat-sen or Zhongshan suit. It was under the Republic of China's government that the suit was created, as Sun Yat-sen, the first provisional president of the Republic remembered as the 'Father of the Nation', wanted to create clothing that was akin to a business suit without wearing a Western style.

BUTTONS

The Mao suit has five buttons that line the front of the jacket. These buttons are said to symbolise the five branches of the Republic of China's government. The branches signified are said to be judicial, executive, legislative, supervisory and examination. Three buttons on the sleeves represent the Three Principles of the People.

MAO ZEDONG

Mao Zedong chose to wear the suit when he declared the establishment of the People's Republic of China. Wearing the suit introduced by Sun Yat-sen could have symbolic of Mao inheriting authority from the previous president. The suit became known as the Mao Suit due to the Chairman's predilection for the style and after his death the suits' popularity declined.

POLITICIANS

After the Communist Revolution (1949), the suit became popular among the political leaders of the People's Republic of China and was viewed as utilitarian, simplistic and understated in comparison to the decadent robes of the last Chinese emperor. The suit is occasionally still worn by politicians at formal ceremonies.

Illustration by: Kevin McGivern

Historical Treasures

MAO'S LITTLE RED BOOK

Billions of copies of this dainty little tome were distributed and it became a weapon in the Cultural Revolution

China, 1964

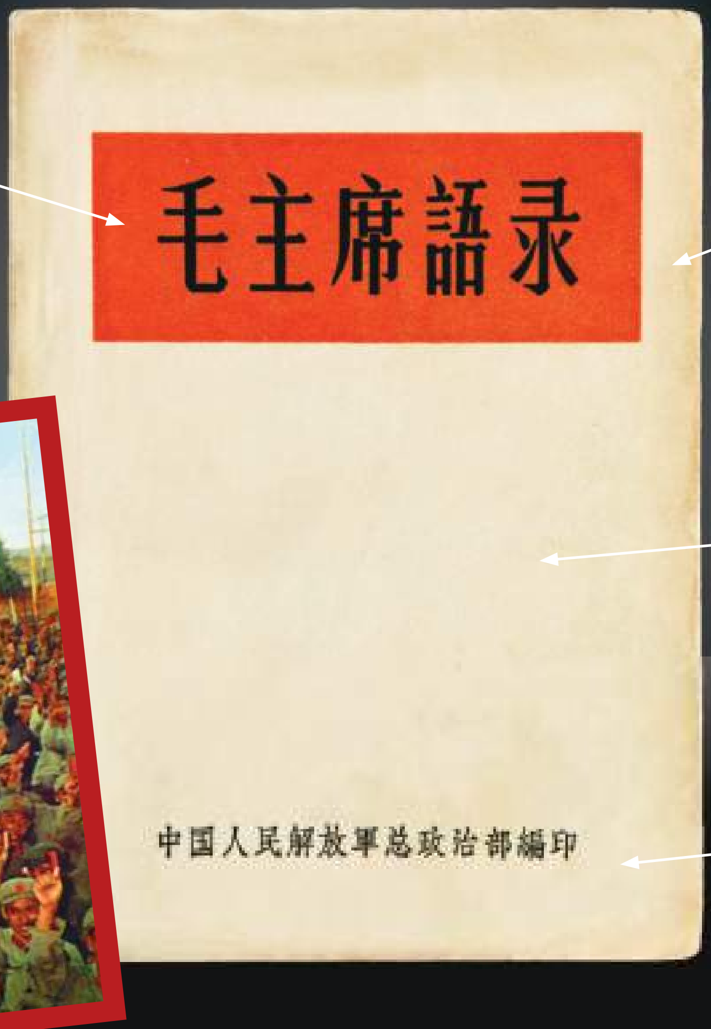
Few books are so intrinsically linked with a particular moment of political turmoil or with a tyrannical leader, but such is the case with the 'Little Red Book'. This controversial work was integral to the violent period of the Cultural Revolution and the legacy of Chairman Mao Zedong.

Although often referred to in the West as the 'Little Red Book' or 'Mao's Little Red Book', the full title is actually *Quotations From Chairman Mao Zedong*. The book is a collection of various pearls of wisdom from the late Chinese premier, taken from his speeches and writings and illustrating the core ideals of the Communist Party. These quotes were not necessarily contemporary. Published in 1964, while some of its contents date from the 1950s others were from the 1930s. The book earns its nickname from pocket-sized editions - designed to be easy to carry around with you - in bright red covers that were widely distributed between 1964 and 1976.

The Little Red Book became a key weapon during the Cultural Revolution and was integral to the ever-growing Cult of Personality surrounding Mao. The 'Red Guards', essentially groups of militarised students loyal to Mao, carried the book and regularly quoted from it. It's possible that during the revolution, over a billion copies of the Little Red Book were in circulation. The book was not only popular in China but also became required reading among socialist and communist groups in places such as Britain and France.

Mao Zedong died in 1976 and by 1979 Deng Xiaoping was actively seeking to reassess the former leader's legacy. The book was a powerful reminder of the Cultural Revolution, the excess and brutality of which was now being widely denounced. In February of 1979 the book was withdrawn from circulation. Its controversial legacy linked directly to the bloody results of the Cultural Revolution.

As of writing, the book is not permitted to be reprinted by any publisher within China. Despite this however, the book's cultural reputation does not appear to have been harmed and a wealth of similarly titled works can be purchased. Furthermore, tourists visiting China will encounter stalls selling copies bound in their distinctive red cover.



THE NOT SO RED, LITTLE RED BOOK

The version here is a first edition published in a paper cover for the use of individual military commanders, while red vinyl covers were to be shared by troops. When the book was given to civilians, the more recognisable red covers were used.

LIN BIAO'S INTRODUCTION

The introduction to the Little Red Book was the work of Lin Biao. Once officially said to have been Mao's successor, Biao was a key instigator of the Cultural Revolution. However he fell from grace and disappeared. He was later stated to have died in a plane crash after an abortive assassination attempt against Mao.

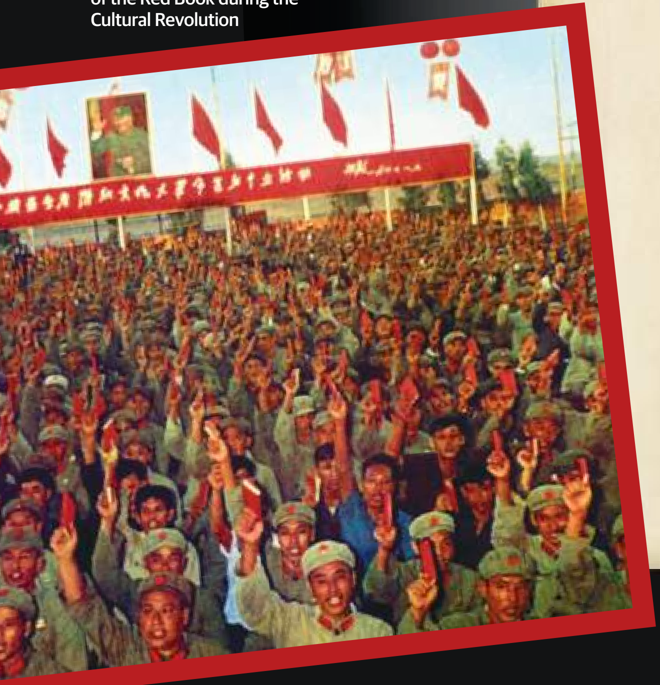
A CONTROVERSIAL QUOTE

In 2015 the Little Red Book became the subject of a British media frenzy when Shadow Chancellor John McDonnell quoted from the tome and threw a copy at George Osborne in his response to the decision to sell off state assets to the Chinese government.

A BOOK OR A WEAPON?

The aphorisms within the book are often provided without context or direct reference to their origin. However, their quotability and flexible meanings meant they were a useful tool to justify attacks on anyone viewed as dissenting.

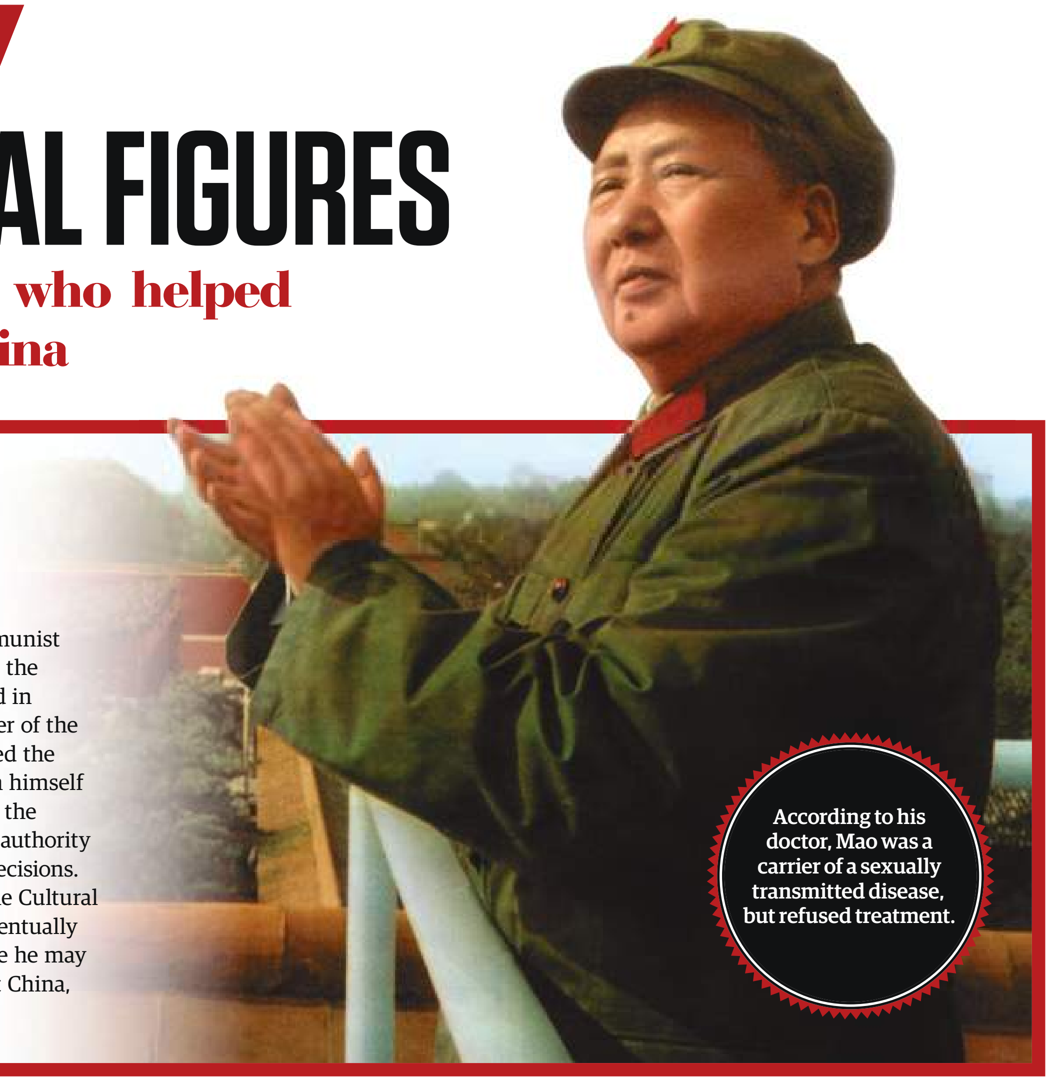
BELOW
Soldiers from the People's Liberation Army wave copies of the Red Book during the Cultural Revolution



All images: © Alamy

KEY POLITICAL FIGURES

Ten men and women who helped shape Communist China



Mao Zedong

26 December 1893 – 9 September 1976

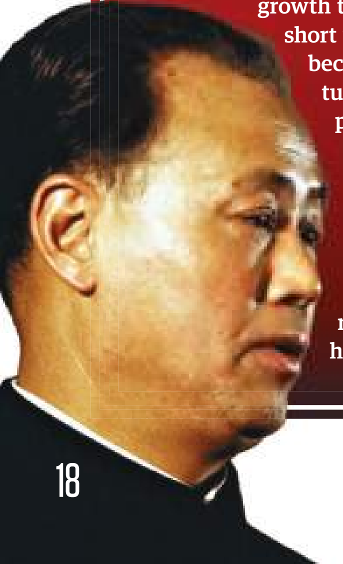
Mao Zedong was the chief architect of the communist revolution in China. Working as a young man in the Beijing University library, he became entrenched in communist literature and soon became a founder of the Chinese Communist Party. In 1949 he proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic of China, with himself as chairman. Following the disastrous effects of the 'Great Leap Forward', Mao experienced a loss of authority and was forced to withdraw from making key decisions. Seeking to regain his lost power, he launched the Cultural Revolution, sowing the seeds of anarchy and eventually having to use the army to quell the chaos. While he may have been the key figure in creating communist China, Mao's legacy remains a controversial one.

According to his doctor, Mao was a carrier of a sexually transmitted disease, but refused treatment.

Zhao Ziyang

17 October 1919 – 17 January 2005

Having been purged during the Cultural Revolution, in 1975 Zhao Ziyang would have a momentous comeback and found success boosting industrial and economic prosperity in Sichuan. A protégé of Deng Xiaoping, in 1980 he replaced Hua Guofeng as leader and was able to extend his economic experiments further. Under his rule a vital period of economic growth took place, but a few short years later Ziyang would become a victim of political turmoil. During the crisis posed by the Tiananmen Square protests, Ziyang's favouring of a more moderate approach clashed with those who preferred a hardline one. He was dismissed and remained under a form of house arrest until his death.



THE VOICE OF CHINA
XGOY

SOONG CHING-LING

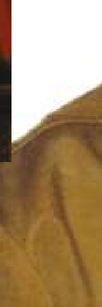
27 JANUARY 1893 – 29 MAY 1981

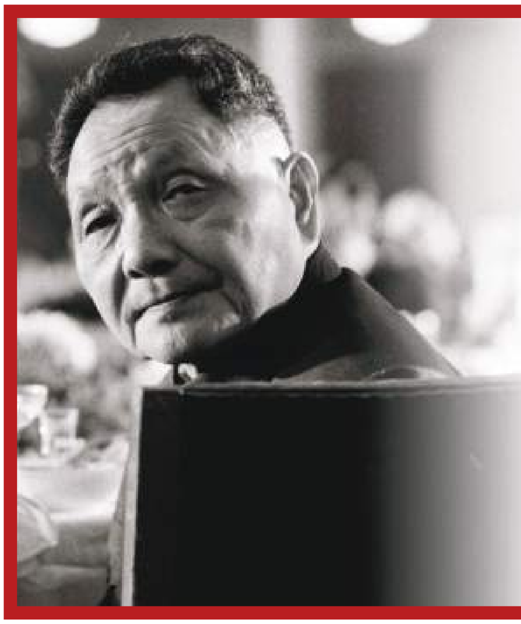
Sun Yat-Sen was an early figure in the Chinese revolutionary movement. Upon his death, his second wife Soong Ching-Ling was seen as an important political force in her own right. Although facing criticism during the Cultural Revolution, her position was unaltered and she was still a powerful and respected figure. In 1981, shortly before dying, she received the title of Honorary Chairman of the People's Republic of China. Much of her position centred on her acting as a bridge between Sun Yat-Sen's original revolutionary movement and the CCP.

JIANG ZEMIN

17 AUGUST 1926 – 30 NOVEMBER 2022

Jiang Zemin served as the General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party from 1989 to 2002 and as President of China from 1993 to 2003. Following the protests of 1989 Zemin became Paramount Leader, though as a protégé of Xiaoping, the latter still wielded a great deal of influence until his death. Under Zemin's rule, China quickly became an economic world power and an influential force on the international stage.





Deng Xiaoping

22 August 1904 – 19 February 1997

From the mid-1970s until his death, Deng Xiaoping was one of the most powerful figures in the communist party and he and his pupils were instrumental in implementing many of the reforms seen during this time. During the Cultural Revolution, like many of his contemporaries Deng was attacked and forced to disappear from public view. In 1973 he re-emerged and following the death of Mao became arguably one of the most powerful figures in the party. He stepped down as chairman of the Military Commission in 1989, though his voice remained an authoritative one until his death in 1997.

HUA GUOFENG

16 FEBRUARY 1921 – 20 AUGUST 2008

In April of 1976, Hua Guofeng was purportedly summoned by a dying Chairman Mao. There, completely alone, Mao is said to have metaphorically passed the reigns of rulership to Guofeng and stated; "With you in charge of business, I can relax". However, Guofeng's leadership didn't last long and his strict commitment to the policies of Mao made him unpopular with a political group prepared to step out of the late Chairman's shadow.

PENG DEHUAI

24 OCTOBER 1898 – 29 NOVEMBER 1974

One of the most important military figures in the history of Communist China, Peng Dehuai served as defence minister before clashing with Mao during the cultural revolution. He had a long and renowned military career, participating in the Long March and serving as the commander of Chinese forces during the Korean war. An outspoken critic of the Great Leap Forward, he had a short return to government before being targeted by the Gang of Four and dying in prison.

LIU SHAOQI

24 NOVEMBER 1898 – 12 NOVEMBER 1969

Once named as a potential successor to Mao, Liu Shaoqi served as Chairman from 1959 to 1968. He implemented radical economic policies in an attempt to restore order after the disastrous Great Leap Forward. However, because of this Shaoqi became a key target of the Cultural Revolution. Publicly humiliated and beaten repeatedly, he was refused his diabetic medicine and died only a year after being expelled from the party. His memory would later be honoured by future leaders.

Jiang Qing

19 March 1914 – 14 May 1991

Jiang Qing was the fourth wife of Chairman Mao Zedong. Originally an actress, she later became heavily involved in Chinese politics. Qing formed an alliance with three other senior CCP members, known as the Gang of Four. They were radical and were thought to have orchestrated the cultural revolution. By Mao's death in 1976, this group exercised a great deal of power over key institutions, such as the Chinese media. Upon Mao's death, the gang of four were arrested and in 1980 were tried for actions taken during the cultural revolution.

Sentenced to life imprisonment, Jiang Qing died by suicide at the age of 77.

Zhou Enlai

5 March 1898 – 8 January 1976

One of the key figures in the early years of the Chinese Communist Party and a participant in the fabled 'Long March', Zhou Enlai served as the first premier of China from 1954 until 1976. Enlai was renowned for his skill as a diplomat, participating in the negotiations that saw the Korean War end in ceasefire and integral in the warming of relations between Beijing and the US in the early 1970s. Like many of his contemporaries, Enlai was attacked during the Cultural Revolution but unlike them he was able to maintain his position.

All images: © Getty Images

CHINA AFTER MAO

Frank Dikötter discusses the period of economic reform and social change in the wake of the Chairman's death

Frank Dikötter is Chair Professor of Humanities at the University of Hong Kong and specialises in the history of modern China. He is the author of the *People's Trilogy*, which explored the impact of Chinese communism on the lives of ordinary people.

What is the situation in China when Mao dies?

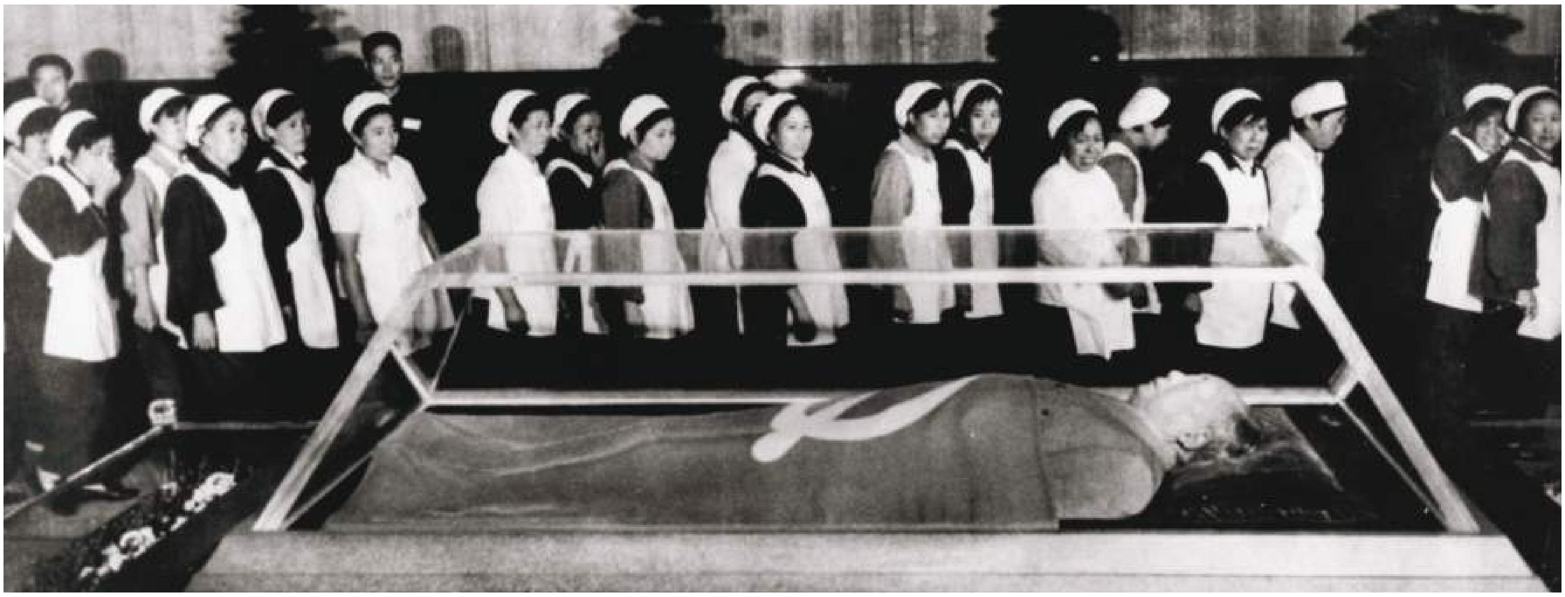
Mao died in 1976 at the end of ten years of what is generally referred to as the Cultural Revolution. This was a period of endless witch-hunts, purges and campaigns in which people proved their loyalty to Mao by denouncing friends, neighbours and even relatives. Economically, under Mao the country was a command economy, like all socialist countries at the time, but it was also an extraordinarily isolated economy. Throughout the Cultural Revolution the Chairman promoted the notion of self-reliance, leaving China cut off from the rest of the world, including from what was known, at the time, as the 'socialist camp'. By the time he died the living standards of ordinary people were lower than what they had been in 1949. So by 1976 the country was confronted by two major issues. One was political, as thousands of highly placed party members were still imprisoned, under house arrest or banned from office as a result of the Cultural Revolution, including of course Deng Xiaoping. The other was economic, with a system incapable of addressing even the basic needs of the population.

Who is Mao's successor and what is the political aftermath of the Chairman's death?

A coup followed his death, as Mao's wife Jiang Qing and three of her fanatical followers, a group generally referred to as the Gang of Four, were arrested. Shortly before his death, Mao had appointed Hua Guofeng, but he lacked charisma, never mind a firm grip on the levers of power. He was also extremely unwilling to re-examine the cases of the thousands of high-ranking party members who were victimised during the Cultural Revolution. The result of the pressure from those around him was the rehabilitation of Deng Xiaoping, who in December 1978 gained overall control over the machinery of the state.

Economically what occurs after Deng takes charge?

What happened after Deng Xiaoping assumed control in December 1978 is generally described as the beginning of four decades of 'reform and opening up', although this is more propaganda than reality. Not only Hua Guofeng and Deng



BELOW
The body of Mao lay in state at the Great Hall of the People for one week following his death in 1976

Photo courtesy of: Frank Dikötter

Xiaoping, but in fact most party leaders looked backwards, not forwards, when it came to the economy. They wished to open up their country to international trade and use the foreign currency to buy new technology, including entire factories, to modernise the economy. What they pursued was a conventional socialist path, one followed by Stalin in the 1930s and by Mao during the Great Leap Forward in 1958: namely export as much as you can to buy modern technology and aim to accelerate economic modernisation.

They also tried to rekindle, rather than undermine, the socialist economy. This was done by allowing the People's Communes, huge collectives in the countryside, to retain and dispose of any surplus over and above state procurement quotas from 1978 onwards. The same so-called 'contract system' was also applied to state enterprises from 1984 onwards. In other words, while previously the state dictated what a factory or a farm had to produce and appropriated the entire output, the contract system allowed agricultural collectives and state factories to retain and sell any surplus as an incentive to rekindle the economy. The intention was to consolidate the collectivised economy, not undermine it. But the plan failed. Villagers opened underground factories and started trading, managing to escape from the clutches of the state.

By 1982 the People's Communes collapsed. In the cities, state enterprises scrambled for raw materials in order to produce more from 1984 onwards. They also went on a lending spree to finance their expansion. The result was growth at 10 per cent a year, but also massive inflation, standing at 40 to 50 per cent by the summer of 1988. Inflation, after decades of virtually fixed prices, caused widespread discontent among city dwellers. On top of that, the Bank of Agriculture, responsible for paying the farmers for their deliveries under the contract system, went bankrupt as a result of massive, unchecked lending to party leaders and state enterprises. Villagers were given promissory notes instead of money. By 1989 people resented a system which allowed party members to trade power for money. The result was an explosion of discontent in April and May, first around Tiananmen Square, then across the entire country. That episode came to an end when some 200 tanks and 100,000 soldiers marched on to the heart of Beijing to crush all civilian opposition on 4 June 1989.

Socially, what is the impact after Mao's death?

People were gradually allowed more leeway when it came to literature, music, cinema or opera. But one has to remember that everything is relative: this was a country that was not only on its knees economically, but was also a cultural desert by 1976 as a result of the Cultural Revolution, when everything that smacked even vaguely of 'feudal', 'superstitious', 'bourgeois' or 'capitalist' culture was mercilessly hunted down, including piano playing or reading *Sherlock Holmes*. It is also important to bear in mind that Deng Xiaoping inscribed what are called the Four Cardinal Principles into the constitution in 1982, where they remain to this very day. These four principles point at fundamental continuities between the era under Mao and the decades that followed his death.

So what are they? The principles call for (1) keeping to the socialist road [i.e. a communist economy in which the state owns the means of production]; (2) upholding the dictatorship of the proletariat [i.e. resisting what is described by the party as a 'dictatorship of the bourgeoisie', namely the separation of powers, including opposition parties and an independent judicial system]; (3) upholding the leadership of the communist party; and (4) upholding Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

In short, these four principles clearly articulate the commitment of the party to maintain a monopoly over power. At no point does the party allow people to speak out freely, never mind organise an opposition party. The striking feature of the 1980s is not so much the relative opening up of the country, including culture and society, but the firm commitment on the part of the party to attack anything deemed to be 'Western culture', from wearing jeans to the idea of democracy, in one campaign after another, the first launched in 1983 and called the Campaign Against Spiritual Pollution. So while the changes that occurred in the 1980s are important, they do not really constitute a departure from the principles that were at the basis of the Maoist era.

CHINA
AFTER ★ MAO
of a Superpower
DIKÖTTER

CHINA AFTER MAO: THE RISE OF A SUPERPOWER IS OUT NOW FROM BLOOMSBURY PUBLISHING

ABOVE Deng Xiaoping who, in the years following Mao's death, assumed the reins of power

All images: © Getty Images

RED TOURISM

Revolutionary hotspots, from the birthplace of Mao to a mountain-sized sculpture of him

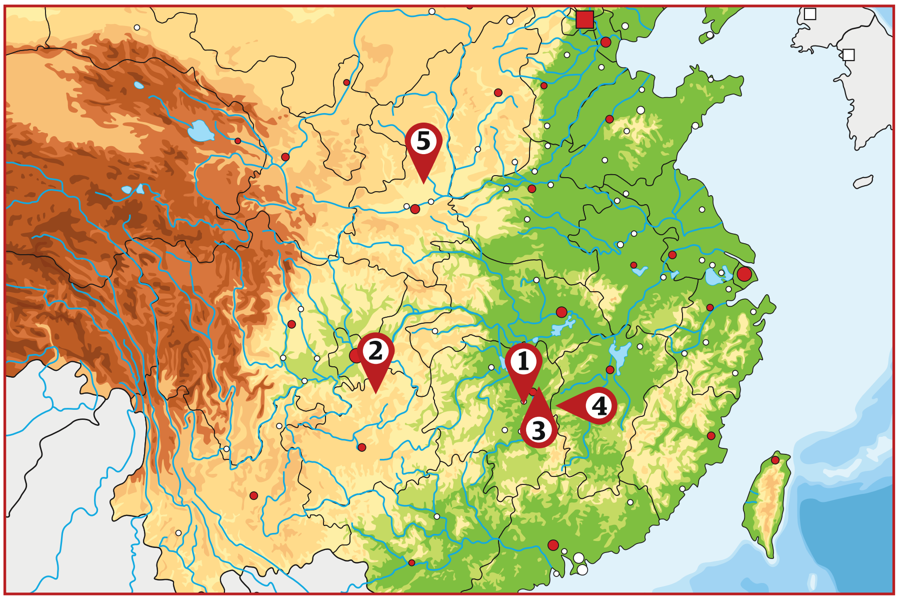
1 SHAOSHAN
HUNAN PROVINCE

On 26 December 1893, Mao Zedong was born in Shaoshan, a small village located in Hunan Province. Starting in the 1950s but exploding with the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s and 1970s, Mao's hometown became a destination for 'red tourists', those interested in the establishment of communist government in China, wishing to learn more about the leader and pay tribute to him.

Visitors to Shaoshan can enter the 18-room farmhouse where Mao was born and raised, before he left as a 17-year-old to study. Much of the house remains the same, including the room where in June 1925 it is said Mao held a secret meeting to establish Shaoshan's first branch of the Communist Party. There is also the Mao Zedong memorial museum where a collection of photos, artworks and items belonging to the communist leader can be seen. Among the exhibits, there can even be found a collection of Mao's socks. Located behind the memorial hall is the Mao Zedong Library that houses an impressive collection of his works.

There have also been a number of unusual 'tributes' to Mao in his hometown. In 2014, a large-scale theatrical production called *From China Arises Mao Zedong* detailing his life was hosted in Shaoshan. The show was sold out daily and attracted thousands of people to its bombastic revolutionary tale. According to *The Guardian*, lookalikes can also be found wandering around in front of the statue of Mao in the huge square.

The vast statue of Mao Zedong located in Shaoshan



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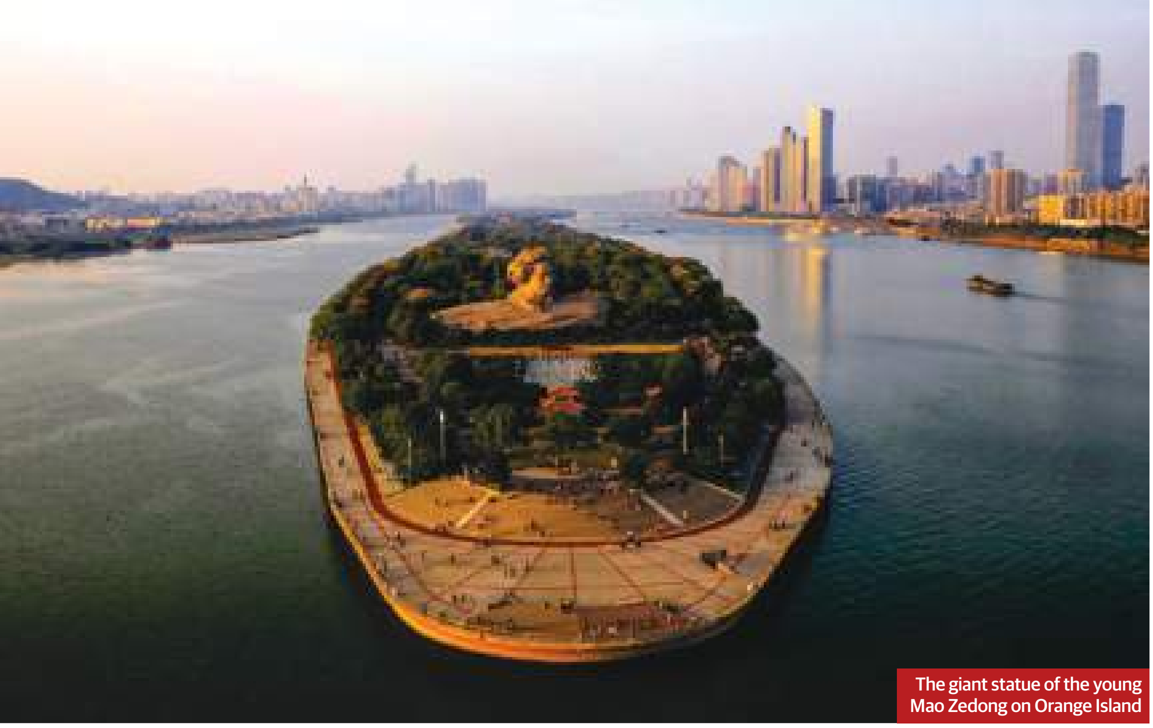
2 ZUNYI
GUIZHOU PROVINCE

In January 1935, the Chinese Communist Party held the Zunyi conference. This event was integral in the rise of Mao Zedong and involved a power struggle between his followers and the party leadership of Bo Gu and Otto Braun. Though it didn't immediately result in his becoming the leader, its importance has been mythologised by the party and the site where it occurred has since become a popular red tourist spot.

One of the main places of interest is the Zunyi Conference Memorial Museum, which according to *China Daily*, contains historical objects and renovated rooms. The hall is said to attract thousands of visitors every year. It has interactive events for families to enjoy, one of which (according to *Global Times*) involves guiding children to read the oath of admission to the CCP. Loushanguan Exhibition Hall is located nearby and hosts plays that recreate a number of the Red Army's important battles from the past.

There are a number of other communist-related sites in Zunyi, including the Red Army Martyrs Cemetery, which has a bronze sculpture of a Red Army doctor.

A group of red-tourist cyclists pose in front of a memorial to founding Chinese communists



The giant statue of the young Mao Zedong on Orange Island

3 ORANGE ISLE

CHANGSHA, HUNAN PROVINCE

In 2007, Orange Isle in Changsha became the home of one of the most extravagant tributes to Mao Zedong, known in China as 'The Great Helmsman'. This huge granite sculpture depicts Mao in his youth, unlike many other depictions of the communist leader. At 105 feet tall, the bust of Mao towers over the tiny Orange Isle. Certainly an impressive site, the huge statue is estimated to have cost somewhere around 300 million US dollars.

In the middle of the Xiang Jiang river in Changsha, in the Hunan Province, Mao is said to have spent a great deal of time on the island as a young man prior to his revolutionary activities. The scenic island is home to a natural park where animals such as badgers and foxes can be spotted in their element.

Also on the island can be found the 'Thinking Platform'. When Mao used to swim over to the island, it is said that he used to spend time thinking about how he could change China and create a new communist order. The 'Thinking Platform' was purportedly built in memory of these moments.

Red tourists at Jinggangshan's Revolution Museum

4 JINGGANGSHAN

JIANGXI PROVINCE

Jinggangshan is referred to by many red tourists as 'the cradle of the revolution'. The area is known for the stunning and scenic Jinggang Mountains, which are also integral to the history of the PRC. It was here, in 1927, that one of the first bases for the coming revolution was created by communist forces in preparation for the battles to come. From here, Mao's movement staged numerous important battles in the early years of the revolutionary war.

During the Cultural Revolution, many early red tourists made the journey to the mountains on foot as a kind of pilgrimage. Now, as with other historical sites, the Jinggangshan area has become a hub of red tourism. Visitors can see historical artefacts in the Revolutionary Museum and go to the site of the former revolutionary base. Nearby is a market where visitors can buy communist-themed memorabilia from a range of stalls and shops, including statues of Mao.

Jinggangshan is also the home of one of Mao's former residences, which has been restored and now acts as a museum to the late leader.

5 YAN'AN

SHAANXI PROVINCE

This small city in the Shaanxi Province was a communist stronghold until their eventual victory in 1949. After the long march, Mao and his compatriots arrived in Yan'an and lived in a network of hollowed-out caves to protect themselves. They remained here throughout the Second World War, as much of China was occupied by Japanese forces, until Mao declared the founding of the People's Republic of China. In the decades since their victory, Yan'an has become a virtual shrine to the communist leadership and a site of pilgrimage for many red tourists.

Some Chinese tourism sites state that there are 140 revolutionary sites to be visited in Yan'an, as testament to its importance in history. Traditionally Yan'an was home to re-enactment shows of important historical events and museum halls.

In 2021, as part of the celebrations of the centenary of the Communist Party, the property developer Dalian Wanda unveiled a huge Communist Party orientated theme park in Yan'an. The park features 1930s style decor, harkening back to the days when the CCP used the area as a base. The park purportedly cost Wanda some $1.7 billion, covers roughly half a square mile and was intended to be educational in nature. The opening of the park was part of a wider move to encourage red tourism by current president Xi Jinping to reinforce the history and importance of the CCP.

Visitors wearing Red Army uniforms pose for pictures in front of a huge statue of Mao Zedong

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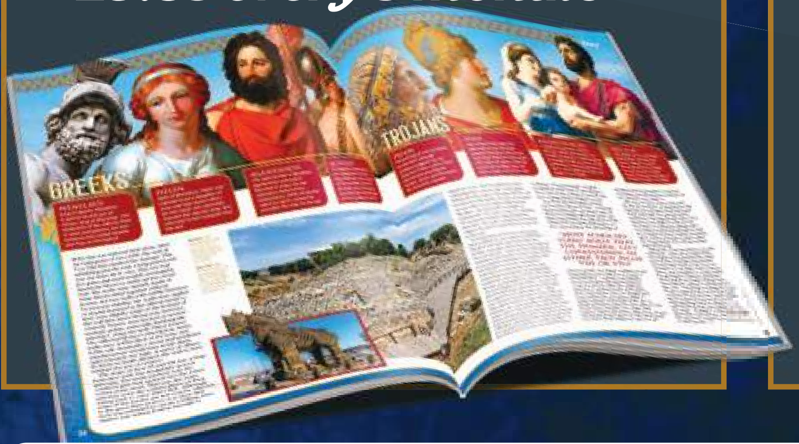
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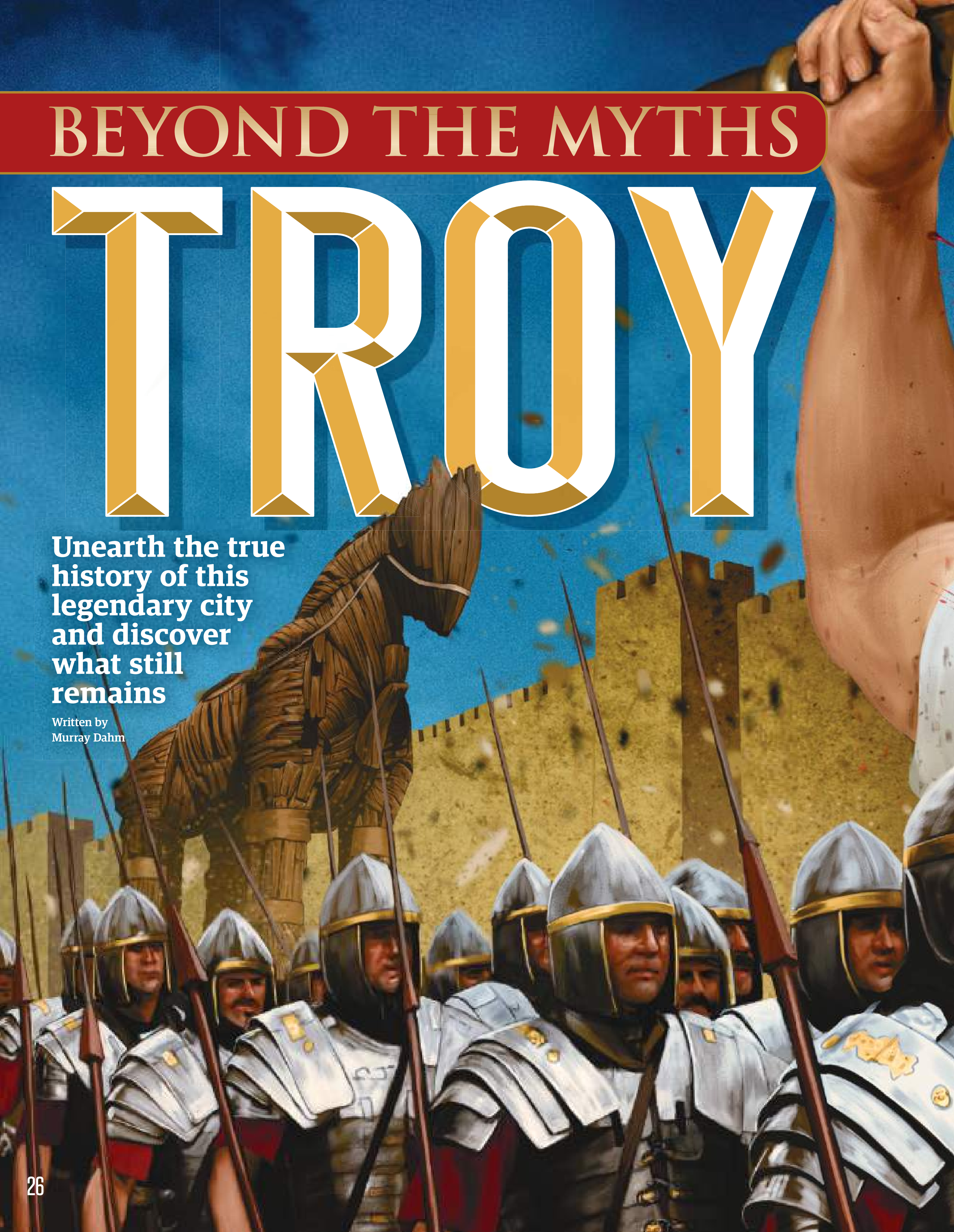


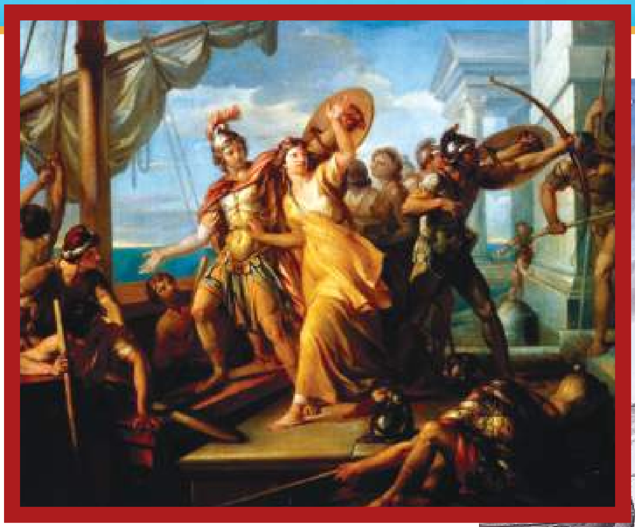
Unearth the true history of this legendary city and discover what still remains

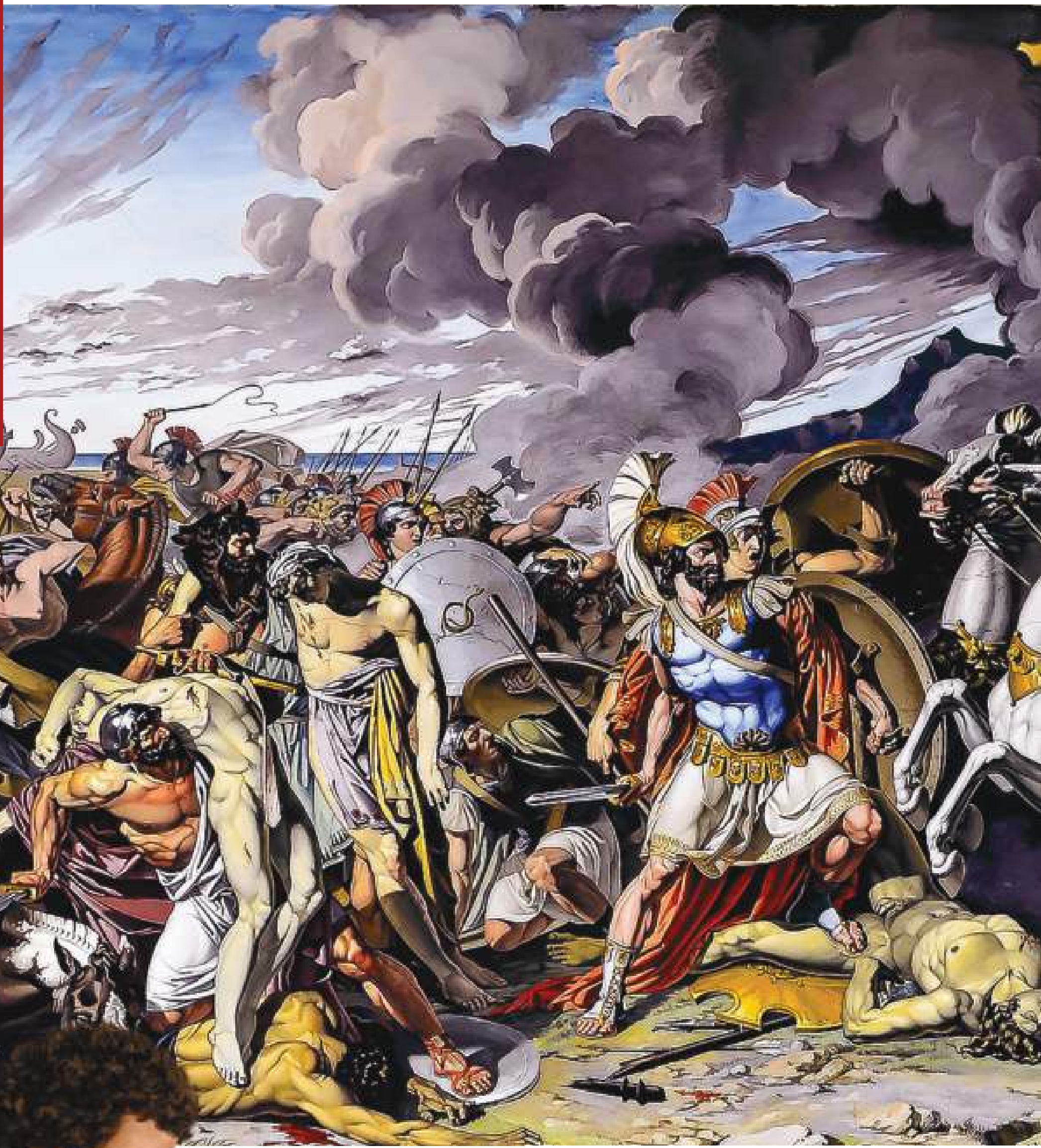
Written by
Murray Dahm

Illustration by: Kevin McGivern

The Trojan War, fought between the city of Troy under its king Priam and the Greek cities led by Agamemnon of Mycenae, was the most famous war of antiquity – but did it really happen, and did Troy actually exist?

Many poems, other literature and much art that survives from the ancient world deal with various aspects of the Trojan War as their principal subject. Two of the most famous poems in the ancient world, the *Iliad* by the Greek poet Homer and the *Aeneid* of the Roman poet Virgil, begin with the idea that they will sing their tale. The *Iliad* begins: 'sing, goddess, of the wrath of Achilles' and the *Aeneid* with: 'I sing of arms and the man.' Homer's other famous poem, the *Odyssey*, tells of the aftermath of the war and the ten-year journey home of its hero, Odysseus (or Ulysses in Latin). There are many other poems, plays and writings that deal with or touch on the events and personalities of the Trojan War. But these are poems, not history. However, Homer's poems especially became the handbooks for all manner of subjects for the ancients: Greek, Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine. If you wanted to know how to perform a task or think about a subject, any subject, all the insights you needed were contained in Homer's verses. His poems also became the building blocks of education well into the 20th century. For millennia we can find authors showing off their knowledge of Homer and their ability to make his





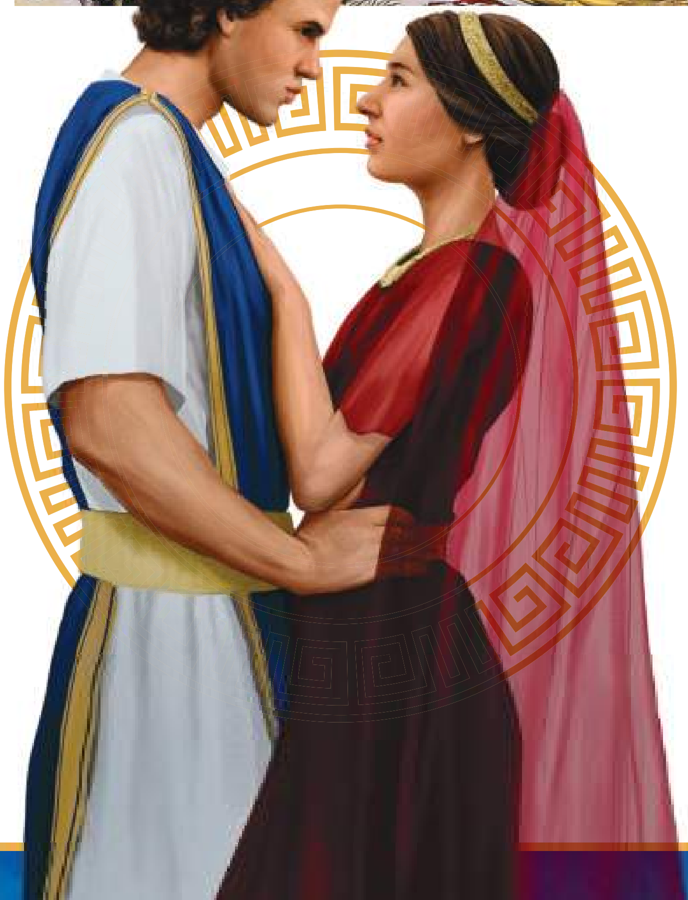
statements applicable to any contemporary situation. Even a recent former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom falls into this category. A relatively surprising major question, then, is whether the subject of these poems ever really happened, and did Troy actually exist?

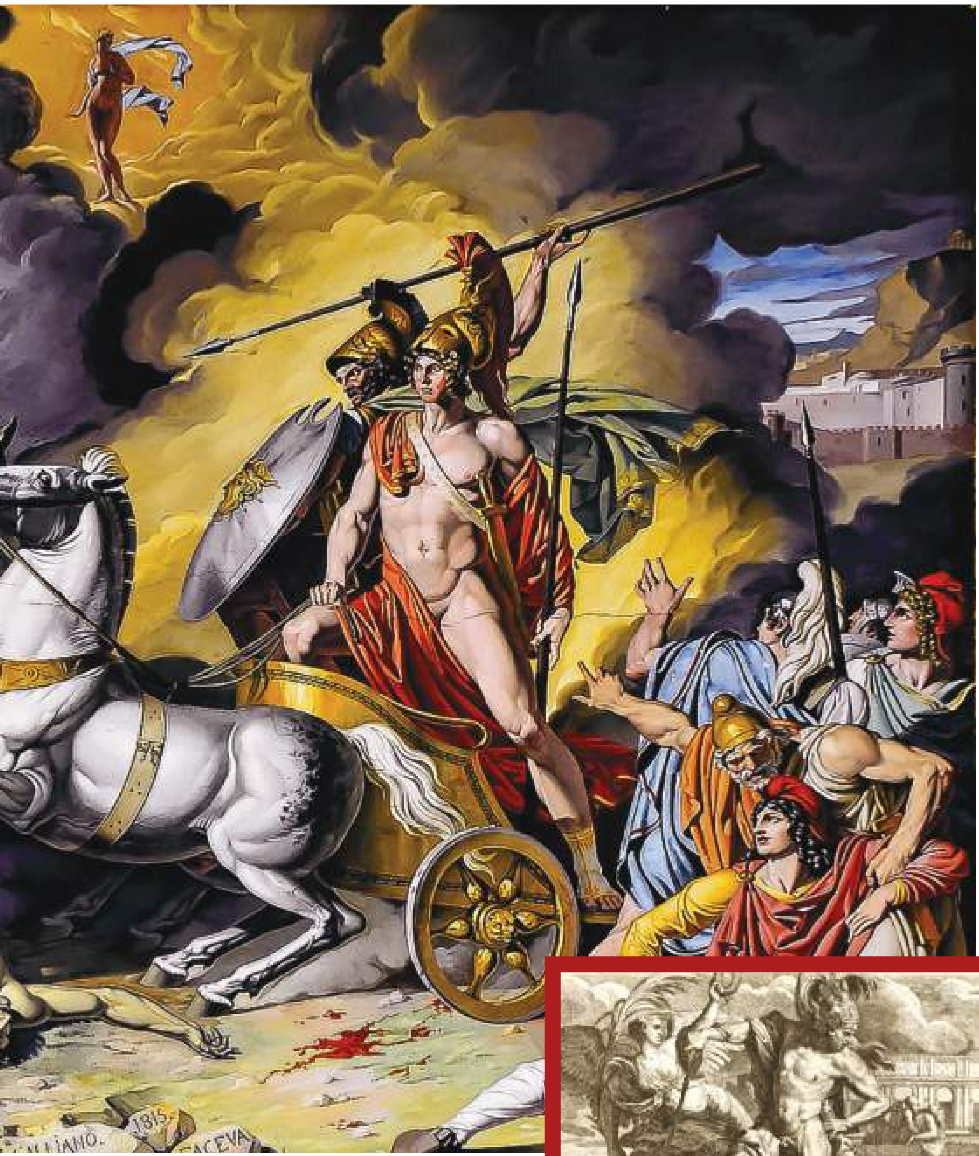
For the majority of people alive in the ancient world, the answer to that question was definitely yes, although even in antiquity there were those who challenged the existence of the events as described by Homer and other authors. The historian Thucydides (writing at the end of the fifth century BCE) questioned it, as did many others. The geographer Strabo, writing in the first century BCE and CE, even went looking for several of the cities mentioned by Homer.

> "HOMER'S POEMS ESPECIALLY BECAME THE HANDBOOKS FOR ALL MANNER OF SUBJECTS FOR THE ANCIENTS"

THE TROJAN WAR

According to the story, Paris, son of Priam abducted Helen, wife of Menelaus, king of Sparta. Whether she was a willing participant in this abduction is not entirely clear, however. Menelaus appealed to his brother, Agamemnon, king of Mycenae – the most powerful Achaean Greek state – to help him get Helen back. Agamemnon agreed to lead a punitive expedition to Troy, located in the Troad – the Dardanelles (modern-Turkey). This was the famous launching of 1,000 ships. Homer's number (known as the Catalogue of Ships in Book 2 of the *Iliad*) actually lists over 1,000 ships (other surviving writers give different numbers – all of them over 1,000) and there are many other writers besides Homer who dealt with various aspects of the war. The Greeks under Agamemnon's leadership therefore gathered a loose coalition and (eventually) departed. They landed on the coast of Anatolia and made camp near the mouth of the Scamander River (identified as the modern Karamenderes in Çanakkale Province, Turkey). Across the river and plain, located on a hill was the imposing city of Troy (known as Troia, Ilios or Ilion in ancient Greek, Ilium in Latin). The city is given several epithets by Homer, nearly all of which suggest its strength and impregnability: "well built", "strong-walled", "broad-wayed", "strong-towered", "gate-towering" and "sheer". The 'siege' of Troy reputedly lasted ten years and, during that time, other expeditions were launched – Achilles took 23 cities and islands (all Trojan allies) including Lesbos and Cilician Thebes. The siege culminated in the taking of Troy not by assault, but by stratagem – the Trojan Horse – something almost as famous in its own right as the rest of the war. Suggested by Odysseus,



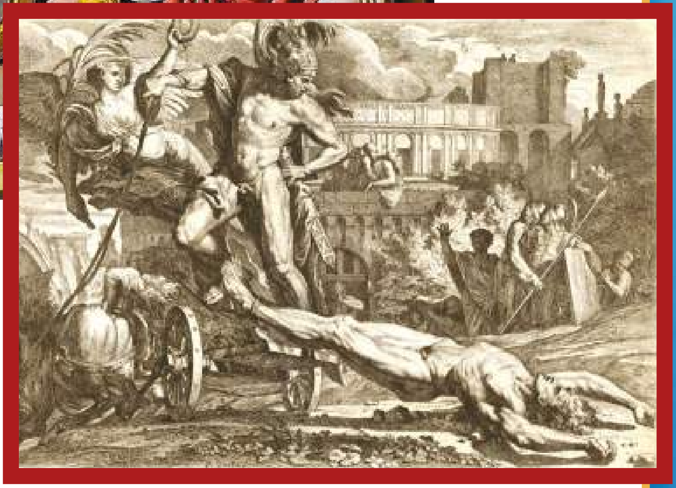


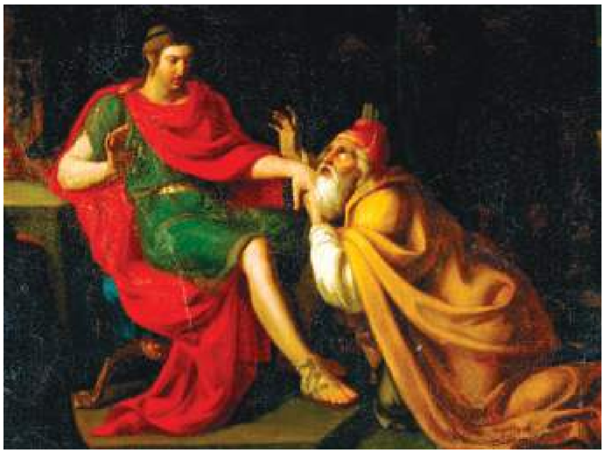
LEFT-INSET Paris abducting Helen, although the exact nature of their relationship has been given different interpretations over time

LEFT A depiction of Achilles facing off against Hector in the middle of the conflict

BELOW Achilles is said to have dragged Hector's body behind his chariot

BOTTOM Trojan king Priam pleads with Achilles to return the body of his son





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the horse was built by the Greeks as a gift to the Trojans and as a sign that they had given up the siege. The Trojans (with only a single dissenting voice - that of Laocoön) accepted the gift and dismantled part of their wall to allow the horse inside. The gift, in fact, housed a small party of Greeks who snuck out of the horse, then opened the gates of the city and allowed the Greek army (who had returned from their feigned retreat) into the city to sack and destroy it.

The origins of a war launched over an abducted wife have clouded any real reasons why a coalition of mainland Greek states might launch an expedition against a powerful city state in Anatolia. The outcome of the war is also in doubt since Troy continued to exist, whereas the powerful state of Mycenae soon faded into relative unimportance. Since antiquity, countless generations of scholars have questioned almost every aspect of Troy, the Trojan War, the Trojan Horse and its associated literature. We do find several accounts of other important historical

THE AEGEAN POWERS

The major cities in the time of Troy

SPARTA

According to the legends of the Trojan War, it was King Menelaus of Sparta who sought war with the city of Troy after his wife was taken by Paris, the son of the Trojan king. Menelaus' brother, Agamemnon, led the attack, which lasted for ten years. For context, this is estimated to have taken place at least 700 years before Leonidas' last stand at the Battle of Thermopylae.

TROY

Located in what is now Turkey, Troy or Troia, also called Ilios or Ilion, sat in northwest Anatolia and was ideally placed to be a major power in the Aegean Sea, bridging the gap between east and west in the region with access to the Black Sea. This strategic placement would explain why evidence of settlement there has been traced back from 3000 BCE.

ATHENS

The great Greek city is only briefly mentioned as involved in the war by the *Iliad*, but appears more prominently in other accounts of the conflict. Plutarch suggested they had been inserted into that story and the *Odyssey* after the fact to appeal to that population. Depictions of the war around the city, not least a giant bronze statue of the famous horse in the Acropolis, suggest Athenians were convinced.

KNOSSOS

The centre of the Minoan people, which had already been conquered by the Mycenaeans in the Late Bronze Age before the supposed events of the Trojan War, Knossos is best known as being the legendary home of the Minotaur. The hunt for this site had attracted archaeologists as much as Troy and was very nearly explored by Schliemann.

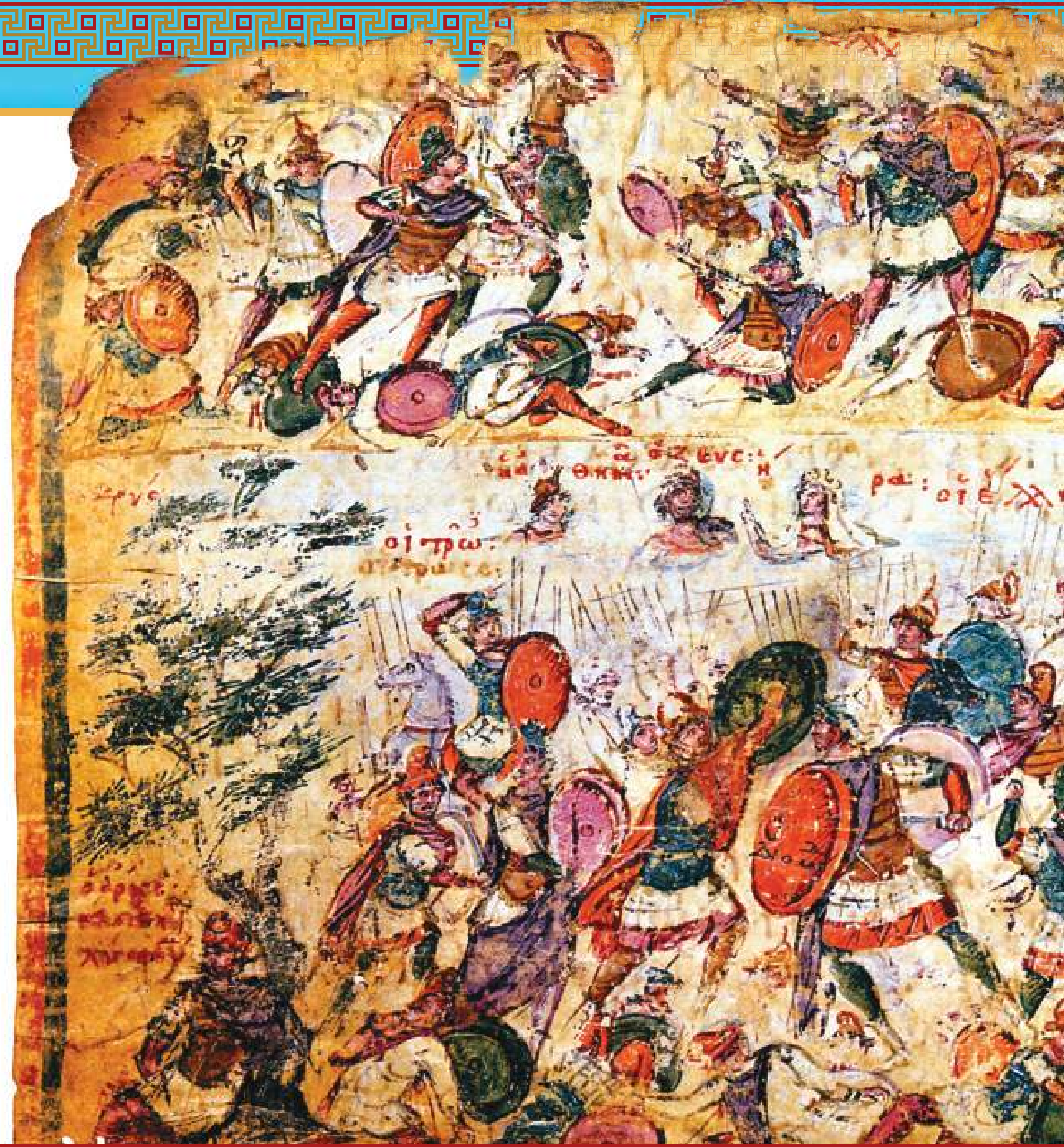
figures, such as Alexander the Great, the first Roman emperor Augustus, as well as the emperor Hadrian, visiting the site of Troy in the Dardanelles, and Homer's poems remained read and revered. Modern scholars have sought to contextualise the war, placing it in its 11th century BCE context and within other known empires of the time – the Hittite Kingdom's records refer to a city, Wilusa, possibly their version of Ilios, and of a people, the Ahhiyawa identified as Homer's Achaeans (rather than Greeks, Homer refers to them as Achaeans, Danaans and Argives).

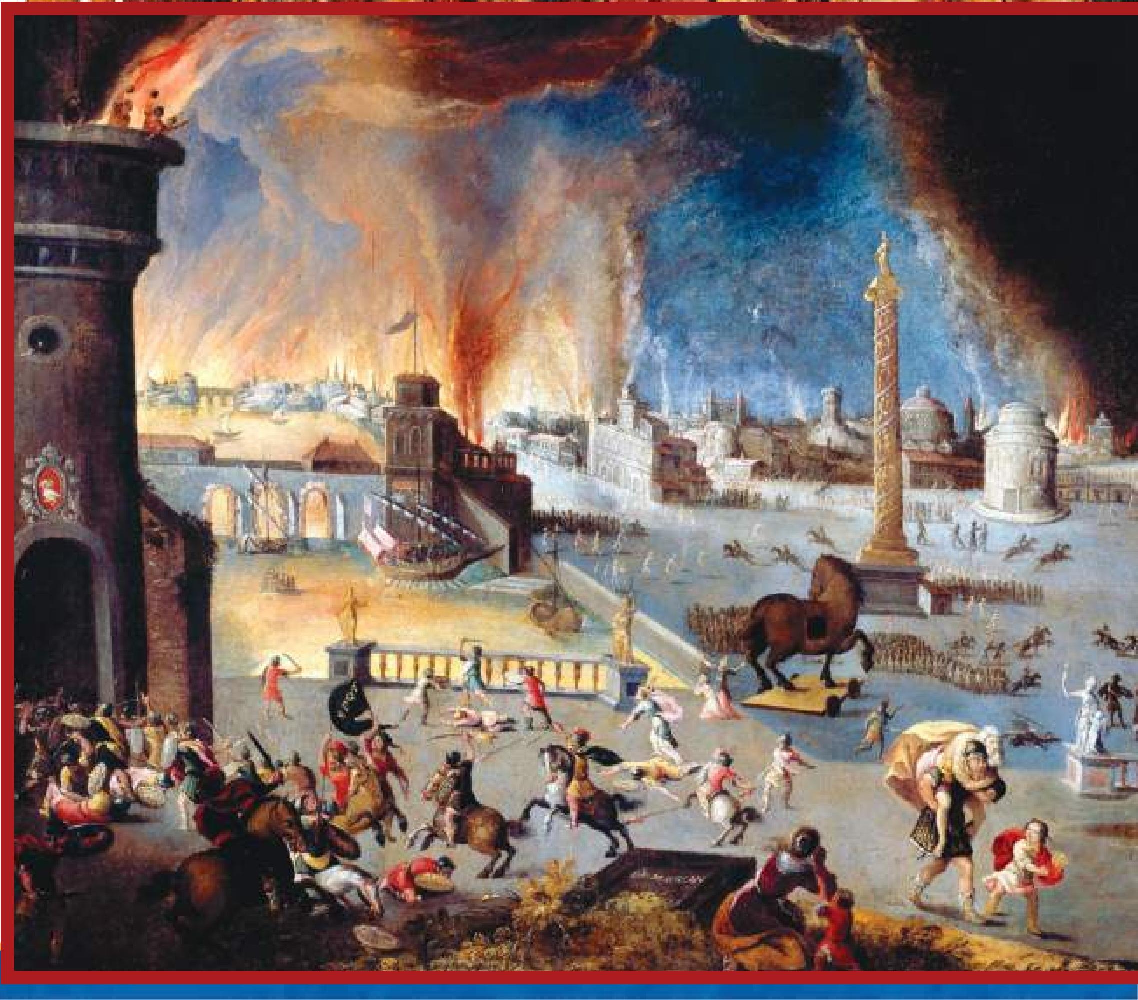
HOMER'S WRITINGS

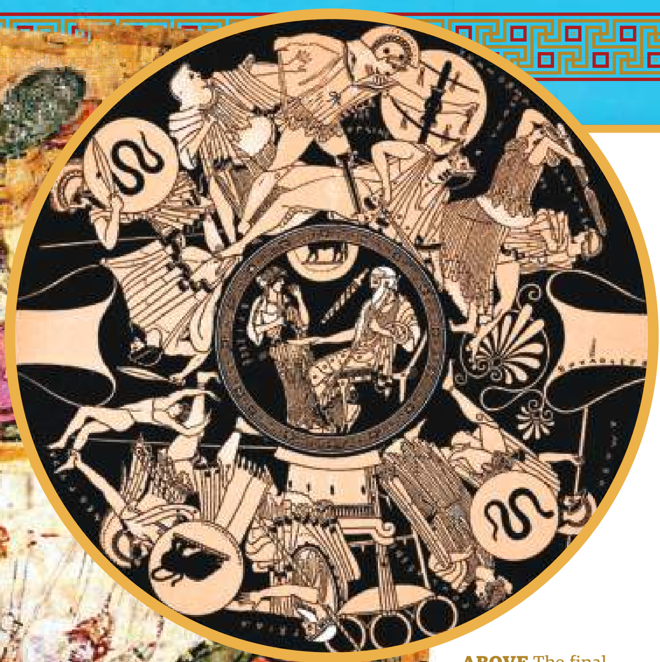
Our major literary source for Troy and the Trojan War is the reputedly blind poet Homer who lived in the eighth century BCE. Although some have challenged his existence entirely, and he was clearly the inheritor of a long oral tradition, the overwhelming majority of ancient writers considered that Homer (single-handedly) wrote the poems that have come down to us as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Elements within the poems such as boar's tusk helmets (which, as artefacts, pre-date the Trojan War) demonstrate that the poems were very old – perhaps reflecting elements from four centuries of oral tradition before they were written down and credited to Homer.

Other elements, however, such as the use of chariots, seem to reflect warfare closer to Homer's own time rather than that of the 11th century BCE. Homer describes chariots essentially as battle-taxis where the great warriors ride their wagons to the battlefront but then dismount them to fight on foot. In reality, chariots of the time were generally used en masse as missile platforms for archers or possibly as platforms for heavy spears (the actual nature of chariot warfare is also a matter of debate – but Homer's version is at odds with all those theories). Homer's opinion of the bow and arrow – sometimes he takes a negative stance towards the weapon – is more in keeping with the 8th century BCE than the 11th when bows were much more common and widely used. On the other hand, other details (such as those pertaining to ships) reflect a time before Homer was writing.

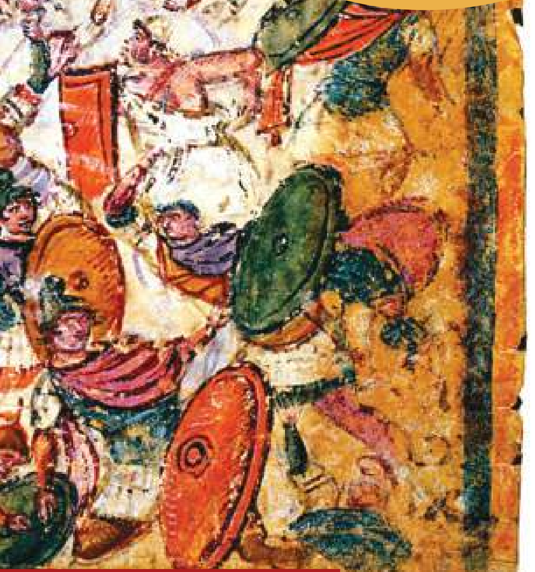
Nonetheless, the prevailing attitude of the ancients was that Homer's poems told the actual story of a real place and a real war, and in a realistic way; one third of the poem deals with battles (some 10,000 lines of poetry). Certainly, many of Homer's verses have been quoted in the centuries since as perfectly encapsulating how warfare really happened (as well as







ABOVE The final battle of Troy as shown on the outside of a vase

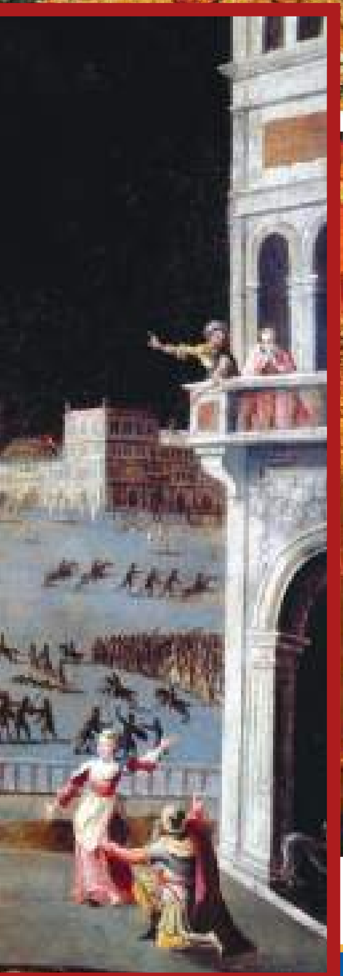


LEFT A battle scene from the *Ilias Picta* dated to around the fifth century CE, held by the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan

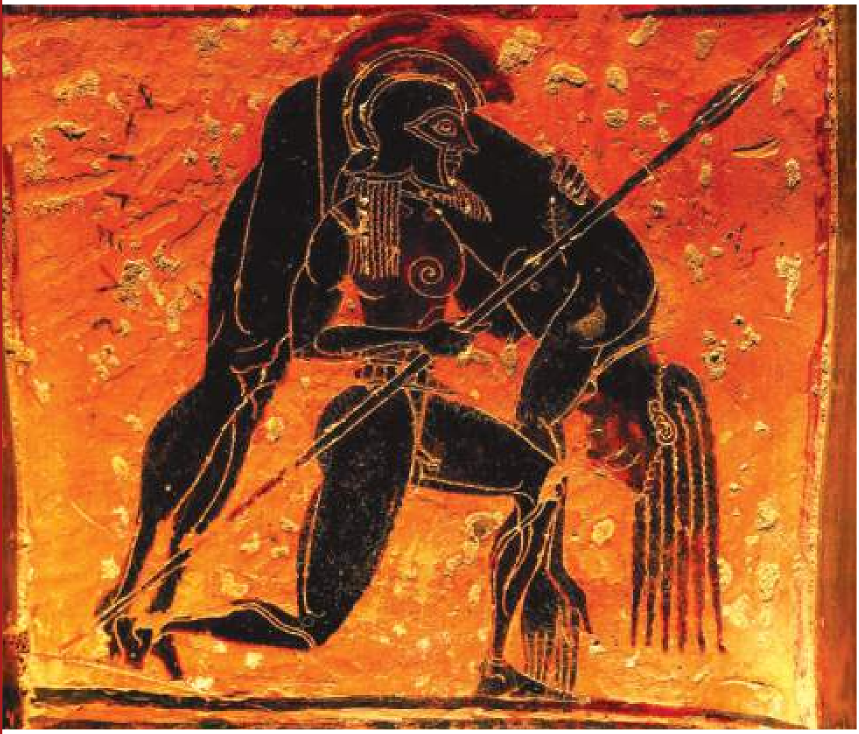
the reality of other topics too). You will find verses of Homer quoted to describe the experience of almost every war since – including the wars of the 19th and 20th centuries. Yet, Homer's *Iliad* does not tell the story of ten years of war – he alludes to the length of the siege, but the action of his poem lasts only a few weeks (approximately 51 days) close to the end of the war. Nor does Homer tell us of the war's conclusion (though again, he alludes to it) – his 24-book poem ends with most of the heroes on both sides still alive and the city untaken.

ARTISTIC INTERPRETATION

At the same time as Homer was supposed to be writing (in approximately 750 BCE, some place him earlier at 800 BCE), Greek art was in what is now known as the Late Geometric period – art that depicted predominately geometric designs, initially without human figures. When human figures began to be represented (actually around the same time as Homer's poems), they were generic and anonymous; no identifiable narrative or character elements are obvious in such figures. Very soon, however, the Greeks began to depict myths, and the stories they mainly chose were those of Homer and the Trojan War. The earliest narrative subjects we can identify are Ajax carrying the dead body of Achilles on his shoulders (not actually recorded by Homer but a famous image from the war) and of the conjoined twins the Moliones – both are unmistakable visual representations. Very soon, every conceivable Homeric story was being depicted in Greek art. There were other subjects too (like the Trojan Horse, which also is not in the *Iliad* but is mentioned in the *Odyssey*) and some literary sources of surviving artistic representations must have been lost to us. The scholarship of Greek art has been hampered in the past by the prevailing opinion that everything depicted must be Homeric, and only Homeric. Still, a vast number of works of Greek (and later Roman) art depict episodes from Homer and the Trojan War, reinforcing just how important (and real) it was to the ancient psyche.



BELOW-LEFT A scene showing the final fall of Troy to Greek forces



BELOW Ajax carrying the body of Achilles at the end of the Trojan War is one of the first identifiable themes in Greek art

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THE SEARCH FOR THE REAL TROY

Homer and the Trojan War continued to make up an important aspect of education during the Renaissance, and European travellers became obsessed with identifying 'the real Troy.' Some scholarly opinion had begun to doubt that Troy and the Trojan War were ever real and were simply the work of the most vivid imagination. Since the ancients left only vague indications of Troy's whereabouts, but Homer seemed to give precise details that could be used, initial searches for Troy were all in roughly the right area of the eastern bank of the Hellespont, the ancient Troad. Homer described Troy as on a hill across a plain from the river Scamander; he described the city as large and imposing – how hard could it be to find? And yet, at first, there seemed to be no trace of Troy (which added to claims made into the 19th century that it never actually existed).

> "SINCE ANTIQUITY, COUNTLESS GENERATIONS OF SCHOLARS HAVE QUESTIONED ALMOST EVERY ASPECT OF TROY"

Initially (in the 16th and 17th centuries) the later Hellenistic town of Alexandria Troas was considered the site and then (at the end of the 18th century) a mound near the village of Pınarbaşı. Turkey. These were close to a mound known as Hisarlık (meaning 'place of the fort') – and the site today identified as Troy. It was a hill 200 metres long, 150 metres wide and about 31 metres high. This site was first suggested as Troy by Scotsman Charles Maclaren in 1822, using Homer's description in a work on the topography ▶

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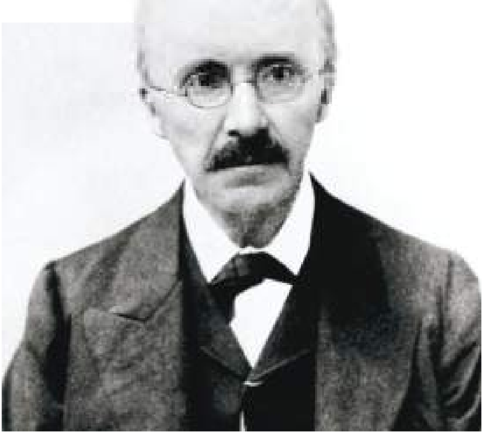
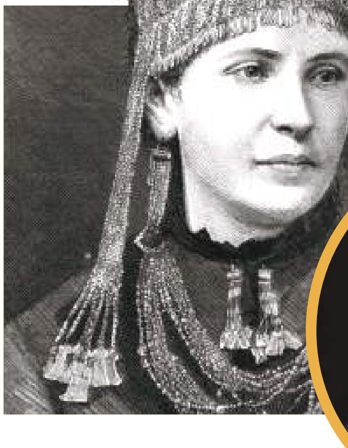
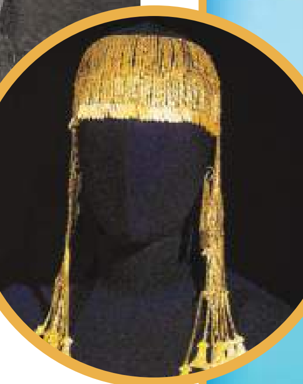






of the plain published by the same publisher as the Encyclopaedia Britannica (of which Maclaren was the editor). The site was, however, an overgrown hill with no obvious signs of any great ancient city. Excavations first took place at Hisarlık in the 1850s (by John Brunton), then in the 1860s (by Frank Calvert). In 1868, the German businessman Heinrich Schliemann partnered with Calvert, convinced they were on the site of ancient Troy (but as yet no concrete evidence had been found). None of these men were what we would call archaeologists, but the discipline owes much to them – even though their techniques would make a modern archaeologist shudder.

Schliemann and Calvert decided in 1870 to dig an enormous trench through the entire site of the hill – the idea of systematically removing layers of an archaeological site (stratigraphy) did not yet exist (although it would come to be applied to Troy in later excavations by famous early archaeologists). The trench was dug (unfortunately destroying much) and it uncovered several eras of occupation – from the Bronze age to Roman times. The site of Troy was occupied for roughly 4,000 years and, today, there are nine identified layers (even ten) of occupation – ranging from the late Stone Age (circa 3500 BCE, known as Troy I), through to late Roman times (circa 500 CE, known as Troy IX).

Ever since Schliemann's excavations, the walls beneath Hisarlık have been identified as the walls of the 'Homeric' Troy – the city (and its associated war) proven to exist. There has, however, been much debate as to which layer of the city corresponds to the walls at the time of the Trojan War, which took place somewhere in the period circa 1250-1080 BCE. Among the epithets Homer uses for the walls of Troy is 'euktimenon ptoliethron' ("well-built citadel" or "well-walled city"). Although he uses this term of other cities too (such as Pylos), the surviving remains of Troy's walls across several phases more than live up to the epithet. Homer also describes the city's towers and that one side was weaker than the others – the site and levels at Hisarlık have details that correspond to all these descriptions. Homer, it seems, was describing a real city, even though he was blind and describing a city from 400 years before he wrote. Other excavations by Schliemann and others, such as of Mycenae and Tiryns, added proof that Troy was real since those cities also clearly existed, were important, and were similar to Homer's descriptions; indeed, we still call the period in Greece that corresponds to the Trojan War, Mycenaean Greece.

> "THE SITE OF TROY WAS OCCUPIED FOR ROUGHLY 4,000 YEARS"

The most significant items Schliemann discovered were a set of gold artefacts known as Priam's Treasure – these were, he maintained, proof that he had found Priam's city. He immediately removed these items without recording precisely where they were from (another thoroughly un-modern practice). Most of these items ended up in Berlin but were taken to Moscow in 1945 where they remain at the Pushkin Museum (this fate was only discovered in the 1980s). Some items (those not made of precious metal) were given to the Istanbul Archaeology Museum. These items were, however, discovered in what is known today as Troy II – identified (incorrectly) by Schliemann as Homer's Troy. Unfortunately, the artefacts and archaeology predate the war by about 1,500 years. This layer (dated to circa 2450-2200 BCE) did have massive walls (like Homer's Troy), treasure and signs of destruction (burning, in keeping with the end of Troy at the close of the Trojan War). Another unfortunate happenstance of Schliemann's determination that Troy II was *the* Troy, was that he destroyed several layers above it in his haste to uncover what he considered Homer's Troy – so what are known today as Troy III, IV and V (the city from circa 2300-1750 BCE) are largely lost.

The fortified walls of Troy VI and VII enclosed approximately 27 hectares – the city on the hill was only the citadel. This lower city had evidence of anti-chariot defences and this, too, made it more likely to be the real Troy. Earlier phases of the city used mud brick but for Troy VI (circa 1700-1250 BCE) and VII (circa 1250-1080

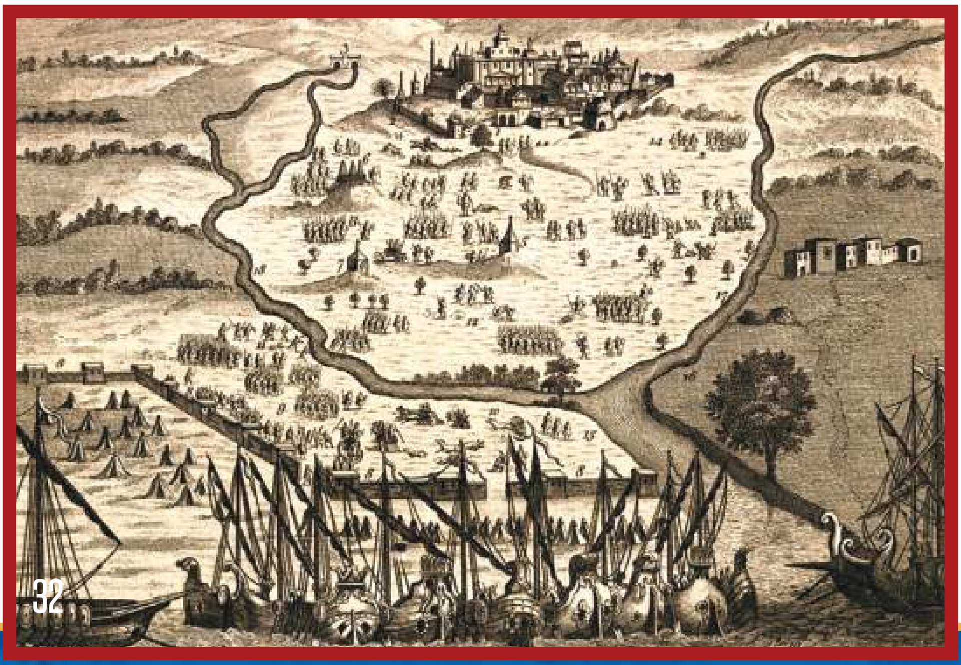
ABOVE-LEFT Despite his idiosyncrasies and questionable practices, the world of Troy and archaeology owes much to Heinrich Schliemann

ABOVE-MIDDLE An ancient inscription on a stone that now sits at the Ephesus Outdoor Museum, Turkey

ABOVE-RIGHT Schliemann's wife, Sophia, wearing the 'Jewels of Helen' in 1874. Dressing up your wife in archaeological finds would certainly be frowned upon today

ABOVE-INSET The golden diadem treasure from Troy II found by Schliemann today, now housed in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow

LEFT An overview of how Troy was thought to sit amid the surrounding region



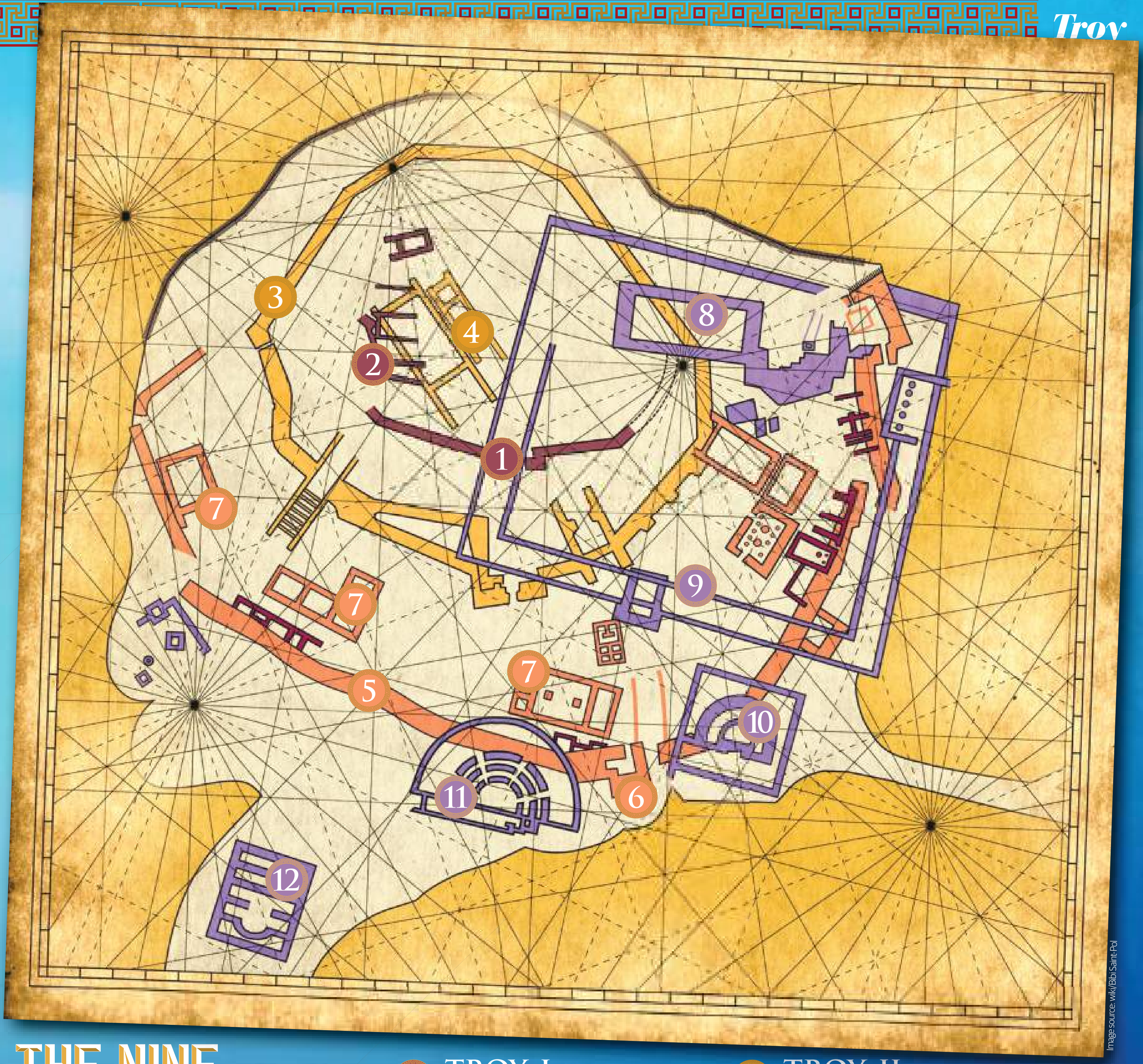


Image source: wiki/Bibi Saint-Pol

THE NINE CITIES OF TROY

Several layers of the city have been unearthed, revealing its long history

● TROY I

c. 3500 – 2550 BCE

The earliest examples of settlement were found 32 metres above the plain under a mound made from debris from centuries of settlement. Some key features were found including the outer gate and wall of the city (1) and the Megaron or great hall (2).

● TROY II

c. 2450 – 2200 BCE

About 110 metres up are the remains of a much wider complex, about twice the size of the original site. The outer walls around the city (3) were more complete and apparently sloped, which would protect them better against earthquakes. The great hall appears to be built on top of the previous one (4).

● TROY VI

c. 1700 – 1250 BCE

The remains of this level of the city include even greater walls (5) and defensive towers next to them (6). Showing the growing prestige and wealth of Troy by the Middle Bronze Age, the city now boasts a wider array of housing and storage buildings (7) to better supply the population. Evidence of Minoan pottery points to the growing trade in the region too.

● TROY VII

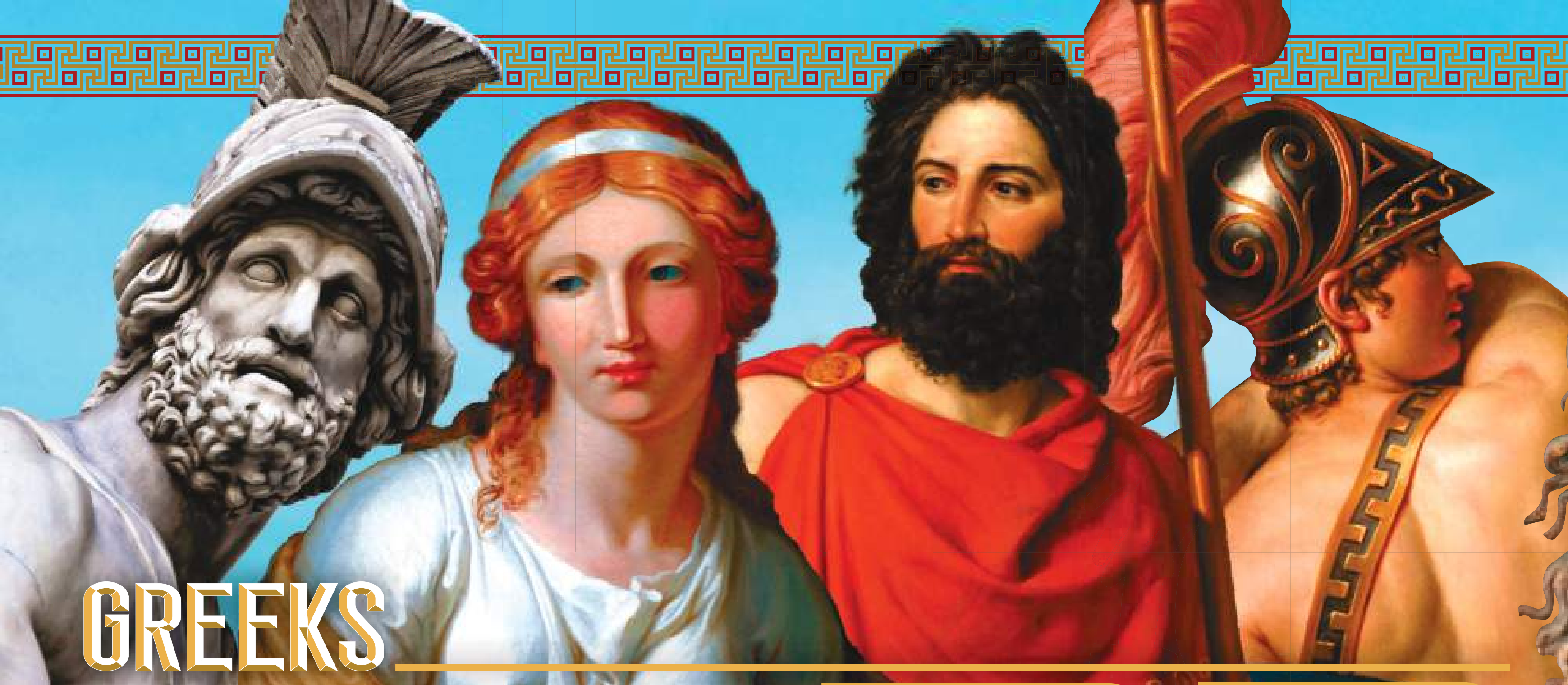
c. 1250 – 1080 BCE

This era of the city saw much of the previous incarnation rebuilt and built upon following an earthquake. Housing appears to have gotten closer together and done more cheaply, which might indicate that the population was growing significantly at this stage. This could well have been the city as described by Homer.

● TROY VIII – XI

c. 1000 – 500 CE

Now a Greek colonial settlement, the site is dominated by a Temple of Athena (8) surrounded by a wider temple complex including courtyards (9). Alexander the Great is said to have attended the temple on his way to the Battle of the Granicus in 334 BCE. To the south are signs of the Roman occupation of the city with a bouleuterion or assembly house (10), odeon for entertainment (11) and a bath house (12).



GREEKS

MENELAUS

King of Sparta, Menelaus is said to be the son of Atreus, king of Mycenae. The abduction of his wife by Paris is what precipitates the war between the united Greeks and Troy in the legend.

HELEN

Wife of Menelaus, Helen was claimed to be a daughter of Zeus and had many suitors for her hand, but ultimately married the Spartan king. She returned to her husband after the war.

AGAMEMNON

The older brother of Menelaus, Agamemnon was king of Mycenae or Argos. He was married to Helen's sister, Clytemnestra. When his brother called for aid it's claimed he provided 100 ships for the war.

ACHILLES

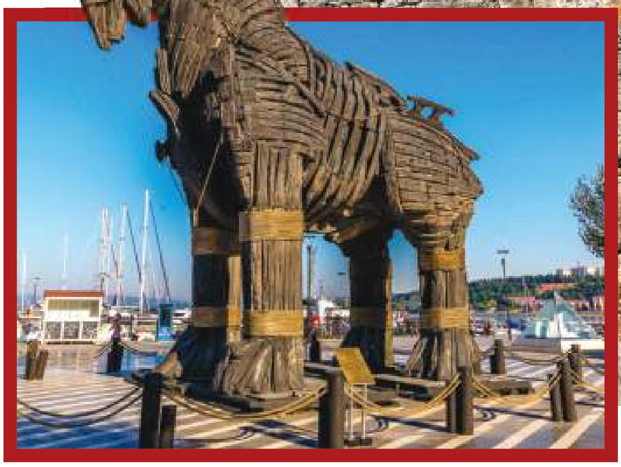
The legendary Greek warrior was supposedly the son of King Peleus and a sea nymph and the greatest member of the Greek army. He is said to have been killed by Paris with an arrow guided by Apollo.

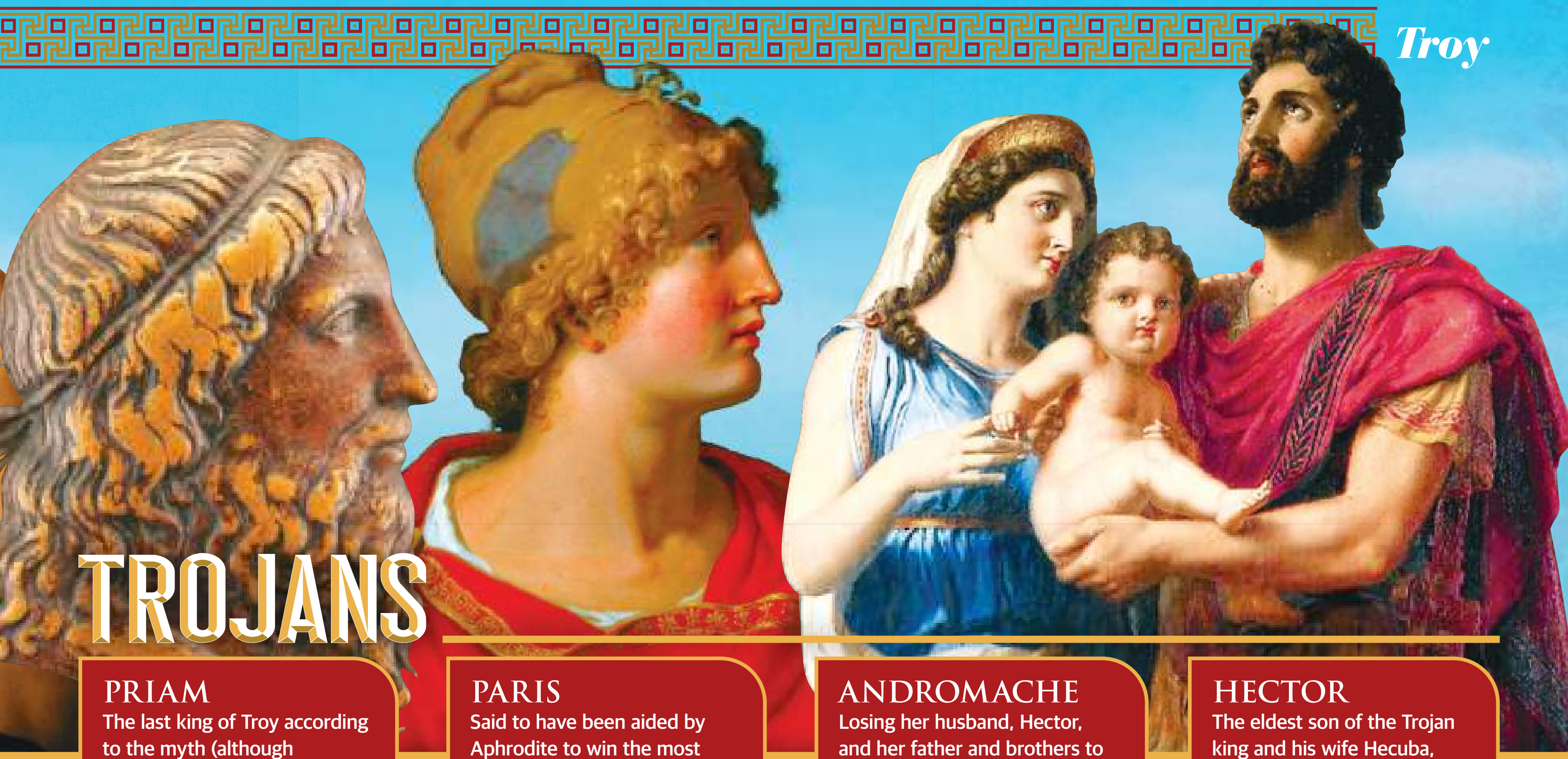
BCE), this was replaced with stone. After an earthquake of circa 1250, the wall of Troy VIIa had repaired the damage. This rebuilding process took a long period and was not done all at once. This city had five gates and used roughly rectangular limestone blocks to make up the circuit wall. The walls were entirely made of these blocks fitted together without mortar, not two walls with rubble between. To increase stability, the walls were angled or sloped (battered is the official term) so they were slightly wider at the bottom of the wall (the inner facing was, however, vertical). Towers were located at several strategic points, especially flanking the gateways, along the wall. These factors, too, reflected Homer's description. Some walls were 4.47m thick at the base and 5.25m tall. Originally a wood and mudbrick superstructure would have made them approximately 9m high. A series of offsets 10-30cm in depth allowed the wall to turn without the use of corners.

The shape of Troy VI and VII was a large horseshoe with five irregularly spaced gateways. The main gateway was the southern gate that opened into the lower town's main street. This was the main entrance since the earliest phase of Troy, dating back to circa 2900 BCE. Although some of the towers are not exactly adjacent to the gates they protect, it is clear that each was intended to create a killing zone against any enemy foolish enough to

RIGHT The excavated walls of Troy VI at Hisarlık match the descriptions of Homer in his *Iliad*

BELOW The Trojan horse, as envisioned for the 2004 film *Troy*, now sits in Canakkale, just north of the ancient site





TROJANS

PRIAM

The last king of Troy according to the myth (although evidence suggests the city lived on), Priam is said to have had 50 sons according to Homer. Hector and Paris were his favourites, however.

PARIS

Said to have been aided by Aphrodite to win the most beautiful woman in the world, Paris finds and then runs away with Helen of Sparta. Not the warrior his brother was, he takes a back seat in the war.

ANDROMACHE

Losing her husband, Hector, and her father and brothers to Achilles in the war, Andromache is thought to be a symbol of the suffering of women during war. She is also taken prisoner and made a concubine.

HECTOR

The eldest son of the Trojan king and his wife Hecuba, Hector was the head of the army when the Greeks arrived. He kills Achilles' friend Patroclus then dies at Achilles' hands in revenge.

assault the walls. They are placed to give enfilading fire to any assault on the gates. Perhaps for this reason, the siege of Troy as recounted in the *Iliad* is not one of assaults on city walls, but of armies fighting on the plain – the city itself was nigh on impregnable. This was a siege of camping out in enemy territory and disrupting their lives. The walls unearthed certainly suggest the poetic terms Homer reserves for the city.

In Schliemann's last excavations (he died in 1890), he was joined by Wilhelm Dörpfeld who then excavated the site further, especially what is known today as Troy VI and VII – and it is Troy VII that is identified with Homer's Troy today. These layers had been ignored by Schliemann, but Dörpfeld was more meticulous and rigorous, and pioneered the core archaeological practices of stratigraphy and precise drawing of finds. The next famous archaeologist to excavate the site was Carl Blegen in the 1930s – it was he who identified the nine levels (although he argued for 46 sublevels too – thus you will find a level such as Troy VIh, or VIIa). Most scholars today agree that the Homeric city corresponds to either Troy phase VIh or VIIa. Both VIh and VIIa were destroyed (probably in earthquakes), the former around 1250 BCE, the latter around 1080 BCE, although both building phases incorporated walls from earlier phases – a fact that makes the precise identification of Homer's Troy even more complex. Dörpfeld thought Troy VI was Homer's Troy since it had a weak section of wall that corresponded to Homer's poem.

It is Troy VIIa that seems to best correspond to Homer's Troy – it has the monumental walls and shows signs of destruction (although many layers do). Most importantly, the date of level VIIa (destroyed circa 1080 BCE) seems to best correspond to the chronology of Homer's poem. The Greek mathematician Eratosthenes dated the ten-year war to 1194-1184 BCE – and this, remarkably, seems to fit with the archaeological evidence of Troy VIIa. The historian Herodotus, writing in the 440s-420s BCE, claimed the war was fought 800 years before his own times (that is, approximately 1240-1220 BCE). Arrow heads and burnt remains were also found in this layer dating to the early 12th century. There are others who argue it may still be the earlier layer of VIh (destroyed circa 1250 BCE), however, and not all questions have been settled; excavations continued, and still continue to this day as we search for more answers.

> "MOST SCHOLARS TODAY AGREE THAT THE HOMERIC CITY CORRESPONDS TO EITHER TROY PHASE VIH OR VIIA"

The story of Troy's destruction, much like the Trojan Horse, are mentioned in the *Odyssey*, not in Homer's *Iliad*. The legend of the 'Greek gift' was perhaps used to explain how the impregnable walls of Troy were breached. Both Troy VIh and VIIa show signs of earthquake damage and it may have been this that brought the walls down (rather than the Trojans dismantling some of their own wall in order to admit the Trojan Horse). Troy VIh also showed signs of burning.

The stories of the Trojan Horse are wide and varied – some tell us it held 3,000 men (Apollodorus *Epitome* 5.14), others many fewer; Virgil (*Aeneid* 2.261-264) has only nine. Some see the horse as a metaphor for the ships of the Achaeans, others as a metaphor for a siege engine. For generations, however, the Trojan Horse and its stratagem of deceit were taken literally and some still interpret it this way – indeed the meaning of a Trojan Horse is regarded as a device that hides an ill to this day (via the various Trojan Horse computer viruses). It is worth remembering, however, that the Greek god of both horses and earthquakes was the same – Poseidon. A horse that brought down the walls of Troy and thus allowed the city to be sacked may well have meant an earthquake. ○

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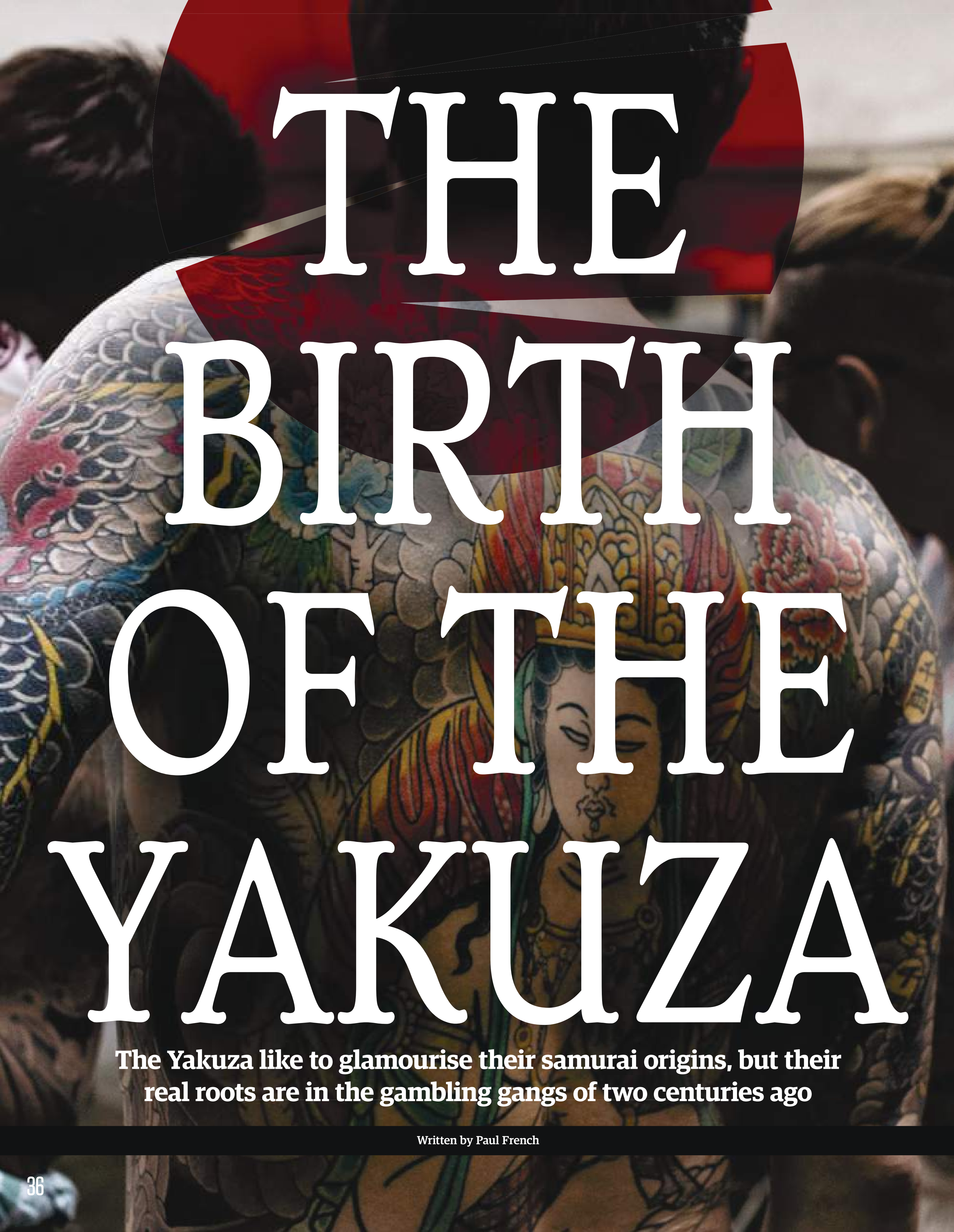

THE BIRTH OF THE YAKUZA

The Yakuza like to glamourise their samurai origins, but their real roots are in the gambling gangs of two centuries ago

Written by Paul French

The Yazuka are a contradiction. Unlike the most notorious organised crime syndicates globally – the Italian Mafia, the Russian Vory, the South American cartels – they are rarely seen being violent in public. Few drive-by assassinations, warning killings, or even street brawls. They are at once a shadowy institution while simultaneously their offices are easy to find in any Japanese city. Extortion, smuggling, drugs, loansharking, prostitution… the Yakuza are involved in them all and more, yet they maintain a front of legitimate businesses. They are one of Japan's largest charitable organisations, universally praised for their rapid response when disasters, earthquakes, tsunamis strike, including the Fukushima nuclear disaster of 2011. Their smart suits, finger severing, and especially the elaborate tattooing have become culturally iconic.

Japanese TV is flooded with, often sympathetic, Yakuza series and movies. Newsstands and convenience store magazine racks feature Yakuza fan magazines while bookstores prominently display Yakuza adventure novels. To many the Yakuza, while clearly criminal, symbolise the traditional virtues of family, discipline, trust, and honour. Like European knights or Wild West cowboys, they are problematic yet admired by many and cemented into the culture. So, to understand how this particular Japanese phenomenon has arisen, we will need to go back to the Yakuza's origins – a contested arena.

> “THE YAKUZA HAVE VERY SUCCESSFULLY BUILT UP A MYTHOLOGY AROUND THEIR ORIGINS”

Most long-standing organised crime groups have a self-glorifying and self-justifying narrative. Whatever the culture it's invariably something of a mix between a Robin Hood-style defence of the poor against the rich, mixed with the need to protect a certain weak community against a rapacious tyrant, warlord or landowner. The truth of course is invariably distinctly less noble and honourable. The Yakuza's true origins are murky at best. While they may like to emphasise their roots in samurai culture, in fact the Yakuza emerged from an underworld of illegal gamblers, extortionists and street peddlars in the 1800s. Regular bad guys.

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But the Yakuza have never seen themselves as simply street thugs. They have, perhaps more than any other global organised criminal enterprise, sought to present themselves as community organisations, defenders of the ordinary people (though invariably on the side of employers rather than labour unions, whose strikes they are happy to break), their offices signposted, their presence relatively out in the open. They work hard, through their fan media and high-level political contacts, to appear part of the intrinsic fabric of Japanese society, almost a parallel power structure to locally democratic representatives or the police.

FOUNDATION MYTH

The Yakuza have very successfully built up a mythology around their origins. The narrative goes that today's Yakuza 'families' are descended from the samurai, members of Japan's warrior caste that appeared around the late 12th century and reached their prominence between the 17th century to the late 19th (the Mid-Edo period in Japan). The samurai eventually severely declined with the beginning of the Meiji era (1868-1912), as Japan emerged from feudalism to industrial power as a modern nation state. As the country coalesced and became connected, forming nationwide institutions and laws, building an imperial army and effective tax system, the role of the samurai as warrior for local clan chiefs and warlords disappeared. The rapid social changes and new technological advances, the onset of urbanisation, all left the samurai redundant, their status stripped, their privileges to carry arms outlawed. And, so the legend goes, they morphed into new associations, created new affiliations, and clustered in self-supporting 'families', calling themselves Yakuza.

> "WHILE THE SAMURAI ORIGIN MYTH MAY SURVIVE IN POPULAR CULTURE, THE REALITY OF THE YAKUZA'S ORIGINS IS FAR MORE PROSAIC"

At their height (and by 1870 an estimated five per cent of Japan's population were members of samurai families) the samurai were the highly paid retainers of the *daimyo*, the feudal landholders who controlled great swathes of towns and countryside. They were instantly recognisable by their distinctive armour that was constructed of leather and/or iron scales, as well as their deadly swords (*katana*) of which they always carried two, characterised by a curved, single-edged blade with a circular or squared guard and long grip to accommodate two hands. Later the *katana* would be used alongside matchlock rifles, introduced in the 16th century after the long closed and isolated island country began trading with visiting European ships and acquired modern European weapons technology.

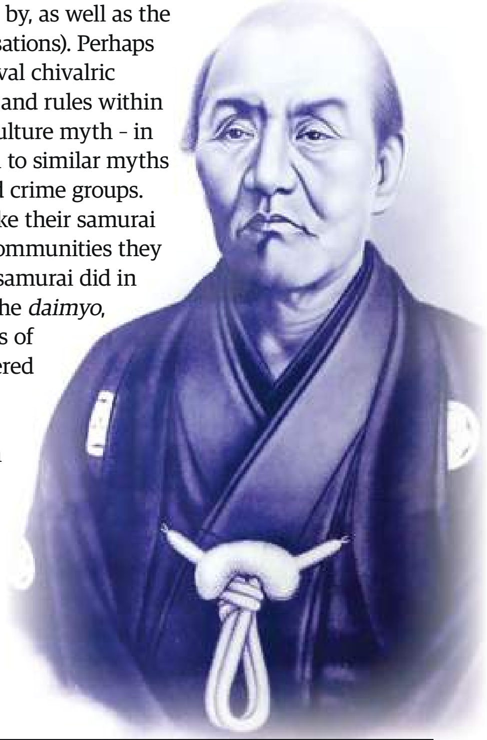
To ensure their loyalty (and loyalties could be fickle; allegiances were formed and broken quickly with deadly consequences for a stingy or weak-looking *daimyo*) the samurai had been awarded high prestige and special privileges, such as additional supplies of rice in times of shortage, peasant servants, and even the right to execute common people who disrespected them!

Contemporary Yakuza legend claims that they inherited the *bushido* traditions from the samurai; codes of martial virtues and moral rules that all were expected to live by, as well as the concept of *ninkyo dantai* (honourable organisations). Perhaps the closest European equivalent is the Medieval chivalric code. This notion of *bushido* and strict codes and rules within the Yakuza has become part of the popular culture myth – in countless movies, TV series and novels – akin to similar myths around the Sicilian Mafia and other organised crime groups.

The modern-day Yakuza may argue that, like their samurai forebears, they work for the interests of the communities they operate in, but of course this is not what the samurai did in the Edo period. Rather they served masters, the *daimyo*, landowners not best disposed to the demands of the peasantry. The *daimyo* themselves answered to the shogunate (military commanders) and ultimately to the emperor. The samurai were mercenaries, their allegiances fluctuated with the fortunes of their temporary masters, and they were, by turn, hated, feared and disdained among the village peasantry they so regularly trampled over.

After the 1870s as the Mid-Edo period became the Meiji and ideas of how society should be organised changed radically, the samurai clans fell apart. The Meiji

RIGHT Edo-period *bakuto* gather to play dice and gamble – the forerunner of today's Yakuza gangs



BELOW Shimizu Jirocho (1820-1893) rose from being a penniless *bakuto* to control Edo-period Japan's most prosperous region

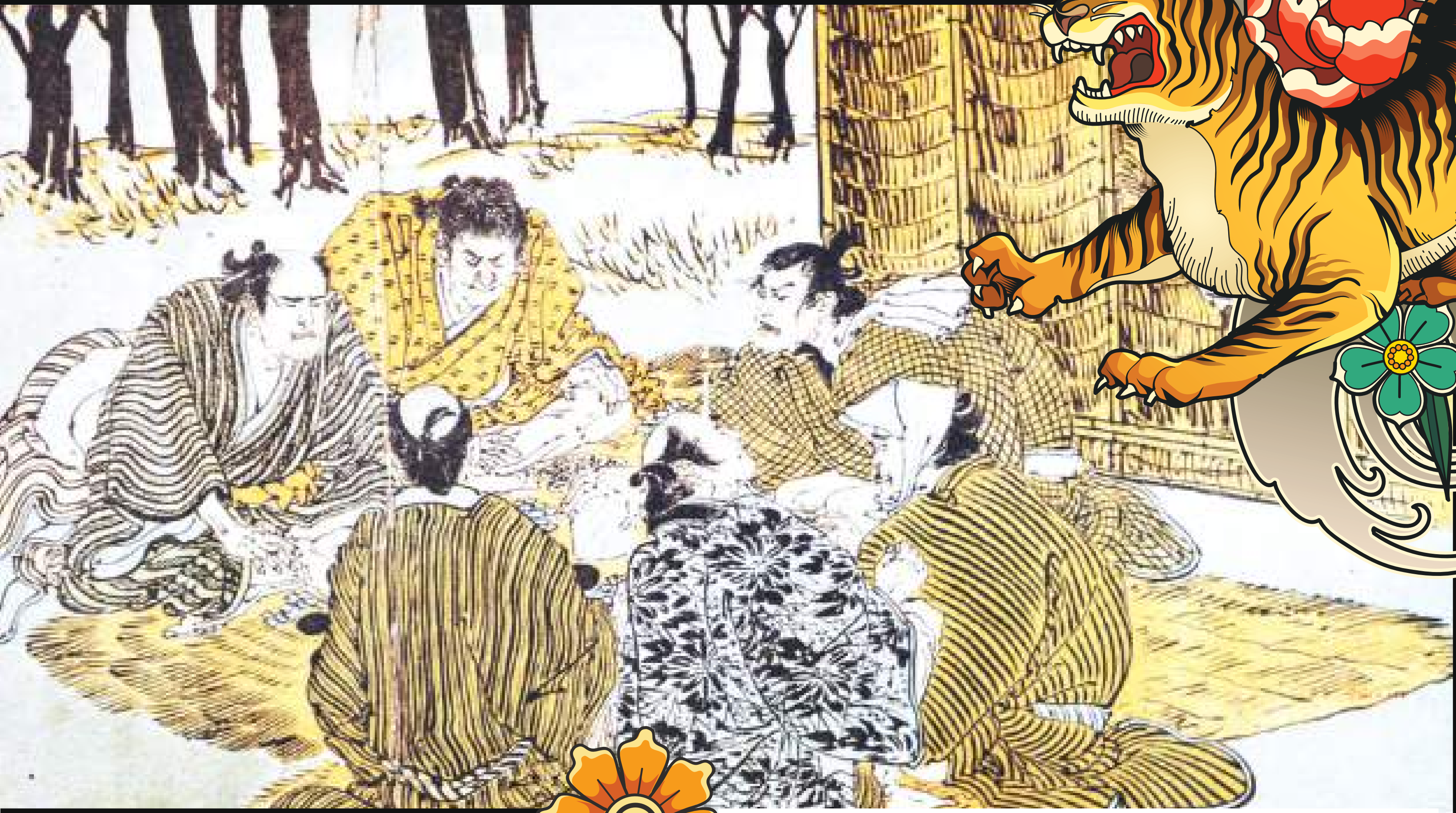
RITUAL ATONEMENT

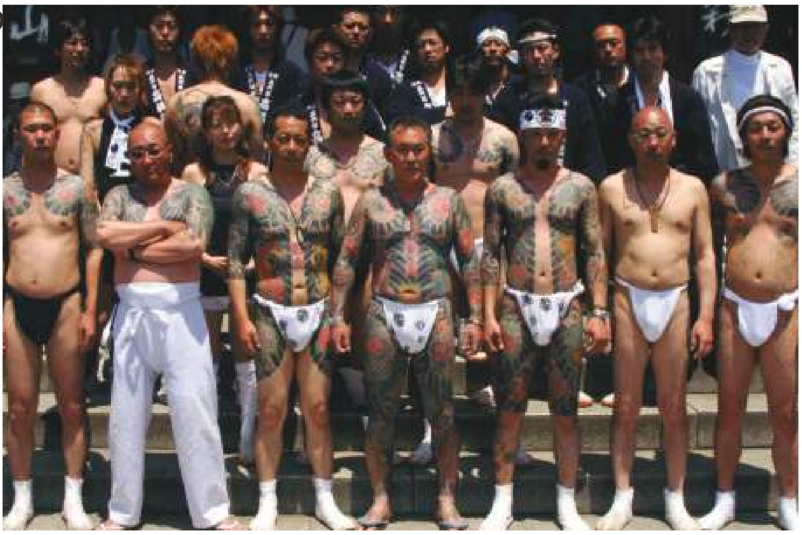
Finger severing (*yubitsume*) and suicide by disembowelling (*seppuku*) are core to the Yakuza's legend

Dramatic gestures are a part of Yakuza life. *Yubitsume* or the cutting off of one's finger, is a form of penance or apology. For a first offence, the tip of the left little finger is cut off and the severed portion given to the *oyabun*. Further offences may result in more fingers being cut off. Historically this would gradually weaken the offender's sword grip, forcing them to rely on their comrade more and learn from that. Today the practice is unpopular as it clearly identifies Yakuza members to the police, though prosthetic fingers are often used to avoid detection.

Seppuku is a traditionally samurai practice that still occurs occasionally – though far more in Yakuza movies than real life. Literally 'stomach cutting' it is a ritual form of suicide by disembowelment that is not exclusive to the Yakuza and has been performed by disgraced officials, politicians, and even shamed celebrities. It is traditionally performed with a short sword, slicing open the stomach and then turning the blade upwards to ensure a fatal wound.

ABOVE The famously brutal ritualistic punishments are often depicted in Yakuza films, like 2000's *Brother*





ABOVE-LEFT The Yakuza's *tekiya* roots remain – here Yakuza members gather at the Sanja Matsuri festival, a temple fair long controlled by *tekiya*/Yakuza gangs

ABOVE-RIGHT During the festival, Yakuza members proudly display their full-body tattoos

government was determined to abolish them and integrate the samurai class into the wider society. The open wearing of the *katana* was abolished, as was the ancient right of being permitted to execute disrespectful commoners. In the main, the samurai families accepted the changes. They entered mainstream Japanese society – became educated, entered business and, so the myth says, formed Yakuza families. And within their new criminal world, so the legend goes, they retained the concepts of *bushido*. In practice this loyalty has tended to be a general support for the status-quo, the political right wing in Japan (employers favoured over striking workers, breaking up left-wing political demonstrations), and showing fealty to the emperor. In World War II the militarist government played on ideas of samurai culture to recruit 'modern day samurai' to the armed forces, reiterating the moral ideals of *bushido* in order to foster and maintain military discipline and loyalty.

But effectively by the 1940s, and after the war and Japan's defeat, the samurai class had become purely mythic, in a similar vein to the cowboys of the old Wild West – partially revered, but receding into history. And while the samurai origin myth may survive in popular culture, the reality of the Yakuza's origins is far more prosaic.

PEDDLERS AND GAMBLERS

The Yakuza as latter-day samurai has certainly fed the cultural imagination of Japan and the rest of the world with highly exoticised portrayals of groups of tattoo-clad, honour-obsessed gangsters dressed either in floor-length *yukata* robes or

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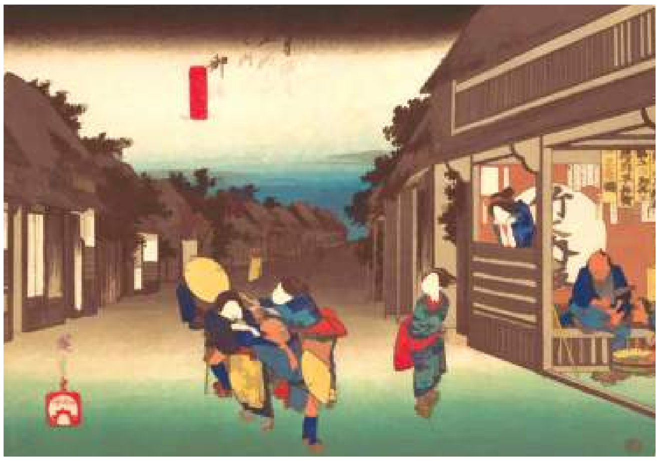
LEFT Yakuza movies and TV series remain phenomenally popular. Here legendary actor and regular Yakuza anti-hero Takeshi Kitano stars in one of his unsentimental gangster films, *Outrage*, 2010



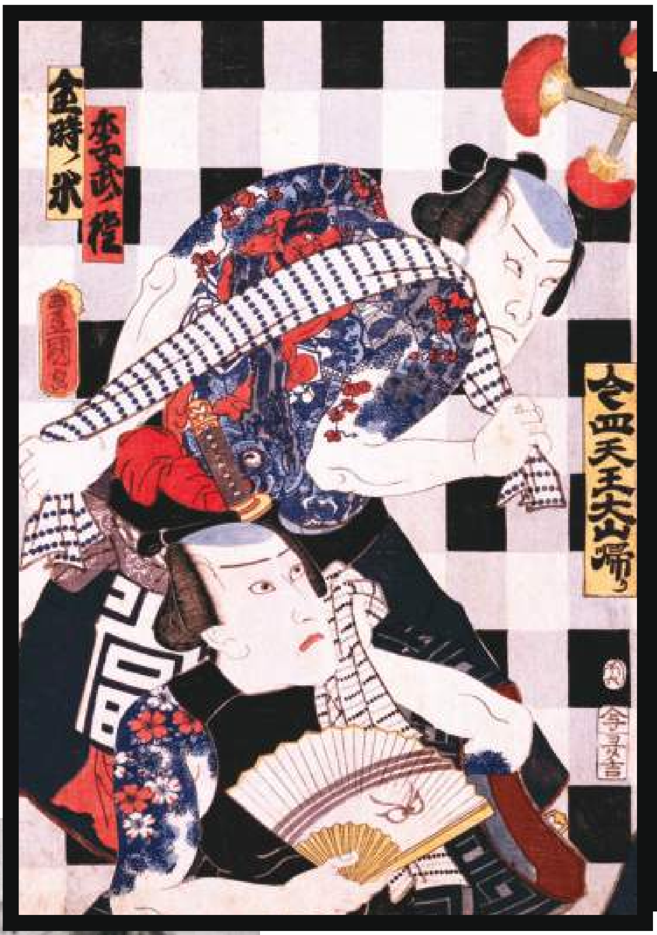
BELOW-LEFT Utagawa Hiroshige's 1830s woodblock print of prostitutes trying to lure travellers into a *bakuto* inn

BELOW The Yakuza's heyday was arguably the rich 'Bubble Years' of Japan's economy – by the early 1990s the bubble had burst, economic stagnation hit and the government began to crack down hard on the families

black 'sharp suits', gangsters mostly involved in internal power-plays rather than terrorising local communities. In reality, the Yakuza has evolved in the 21st century into a much less co-ordinated, far from uniform organisation. However, ideas common the world over – territory, hierarchy, violent behaviour, extortion, vice, preying on the weak and defenceless – all apply to the Yakuza. They still refer to themselves as *ninkyo dantai* (chivalric organisation) but the police more realistically call them *boryokudan* (violent gangs). Undeniably they have been, until recent strict crackdowns, extremely successful financially though now their numbers are significantly diminished, recruitment is tough, and more than half of the identified Yakuza in Japan are over 50. Since the 1990s new, tough, anti-organised crime laws, the arrest of senior Yakuza members, and stiff jail sentences have all combined to reduce the organisation's power and appeal to prospective new members.

And so once again the Yakuza – once so powerful and influential in Japanese society – may be returning to their less glamorous, but no less more factual, origins. Among the Edo period *tekiya* (street peddlers) and *bakuto* (gamblers) are to be found the true origins of the Yakuza and the genesis of their still preferred modes of organisation.

Tekiya, selling cheap talismans, religious symbols and decorations from carts and stalls in towns and villages across



FULL-BODY TATTOOING

Tattooing remains central to Yakuza identity, but *irezumi* has a deeper spiritual meaning than often realised

Full-body tattooing (*irezumi*) remains common among Yakuza in Japan. The process can take years, including tattooing the genitals in some cases, and if done traditionally involves no electrical machines but rather is 'hand-poked' with the ink inserted beneath the skin using needles of sharpened bamboo or steel.

Again, as with *yubitsume*, tattoos are an easy identifier to police of Yakuza membership and this is one reason that long-sleeved shirts, suits and shirts with neck collars are worn. The tattoos are not normally displayed in public.

Tattooing is symbolic of the Yakuza's outsider status. In the Edo period criminals were tattooed to identify their crimes – thieves on the arms, murderers on the head. Other tattoos would indicate where the crimes occurred. The Meiji government sought to outlaw tattooing altogether, creating a stigma against the practice in wider society, but embraced by the Yakuza.

> "AMONG THE EDO PERIOD *TEKIYA* AND *BAKUTO* ARE TO BE FOUND THE TRUE ORIGINS OF THE YAKUZA"

Japan, were considered very low class in the Edo period, almost outcasts. Scorned by society, they organised themselves, coming to control the lucrative Shinto temple fairs held of Buddhist holidays, hiring security to keep out other vendors, and enforcing price controls to maintain profits. It was essentially a protection racket that became gradually more sophisticated and, through vendor fees, quite profitable. As they grew in size and fiscal reserves *tekiya* introduced hierarchies into their organisations, formalising their power structures. *Oyabun* (bosses) were at the top and *kobun* (gang members) below, the *oyabun* as father to his *kobun* children. To this day Yakuza groups refer to themselves as families – not of blood, but of *oyabun-kobun* loyalties and deference. At this point the confusion between the Yakuza as heirs of the samurai can occur. Powerful *oyabuns* were granted samurai-like privileges, including bearing swords.

If anything the *bakuto* were even lower on the social scale than *tekiya*. Street peddling was a low-class occupation, but it was legal. Gambling was not. The *bakuto* similarly banded together, opening gambling parlours, providing their own protection, paying off the authorities to look the other way. Naturally, as an extension of gambling, they began loansharking with extortionate interest rates and violent penalties for non-payment. The very name Yakuza is derived from a Japanese card game popular in *bakuto* gambling dens. Careers were made. Shimizu Jirocho, a penniless *bakuto* in the 19th century, rose to become a legendary *oyabun* controlling the whole of Japan's eastern seaboard, including what is today modern Tokyo.

ASSOCIATION OF MISFITS

And so the *tekiya* and the *bakuto* expanded and grew, worked together, and found common cause in their outsider status, attracting those drawn to criminality and not fitting in with Edo society. New businesses emerged – fake and stolen goods, cheap low-end produce disguised and sold as higher quality in the markets. *Bakuto*-run gambling dens became notorious for fixed dice games and card cheats.

As new members joined, initiation rituals were created. Those that still exist today are not so different – the mutual sharing of sake with the *oyabun*, known as *sakazuki*. The *oyabun* pours two cups, they drink from each other's, and then an elaborate dinner is served. The new *kobun* renounces all ties to his blood family and swears to serve his new one – his Yakuza clan. And it is all male with the exception of some boss's wives, who hold a special place in the organisations as *ane-san* (older sisters).

Not overly elaborate perhaps compared to more ritualistic initiations as practised by, say, many Chinese triad gangs, but historically rooted in the days of the *tekiya* and the *bakuto*. And so are most of the contemporary Yakuza's core activities – loansharking, smuggling, prostitution, people trafficking, all early criminal enterprises that could be traced back to the days of the *tekiya* and the *bakuto* running gambling dens, brothels, extortion and protection, fake luxury goods, loansharking, and kidnapping. Later businesses – pyramid schemes, internet scams and pornography, crypto stings and narcotics are simply natural extensions of traditional businesses as global networks, tastes and technology have changed.

Within this world of latter-day *tekiya* and *bakuto* there is little room for the traditional notions of samurai pride, *bushido*, or chivalric organisations. Gangsters the world over may see themselves as warriors, knights, soldiers, and samurai… but invariably, as with today's Japanese Yakuza, the root is simple criminal protectionism. ○

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Terra florida
Archipelagus 7448 inſularū
Zipangri
Chamaho
Panuco
Inſ. Tortucarū
Temiſtitan
Iucatana
Cozumela
Beragna
nſ. ꝑdonum
ORE
Inſula
Catigara

FAILED COLONIES OF NORTH AMERICA

Oceanus occidentalis
Medera
Fortunatæ inſ.
CVBA
Hiſpaniola
Setana
Antilla
Inſ. Heſperidum
AFRICAE pars
Iamica
Dominica
S.Iacobi
PARIAS abundat auro & margaritis
Sinus Atlanticus
Canibali
BIS
Atlãtica quam uocant Braſilij & Americam

The New World promised riches and expanded empires, but often it was the poorest who paid the price

Written by David J Williamson

Explorers and settlers from Europe had been travelling to North America, intentionally or not, to seek refuge and new opportunities for centuries before the first colonies were established. The Vikings had made a brief and unsuccessful attempt at settlement in the far north around 1000 CE. But, following on from Columbus and his Spanish-funded voyages to the New World, the earliest concerted attempts at colonisation were by the Spanish. Following several expeditions, in 1526 the conquistador Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon, with six ships and 600 colonists (along with a number of African slaves), funded his own attempt to set up a permanent settlement. A suitable spot was difficult to find, but eventually they settled somewhere in the region of what is now South Carolina or Georgia, calling their new home San Miguel de Gualdape.

It wasn't long before bad weather destroyed their flagship and supplies. The weather was also colder than expected and disease began to run through the settlement. Ayllon himself died, and without leadership the decision to stay or leave split the colony. Infighting and conflict with the local indigenous

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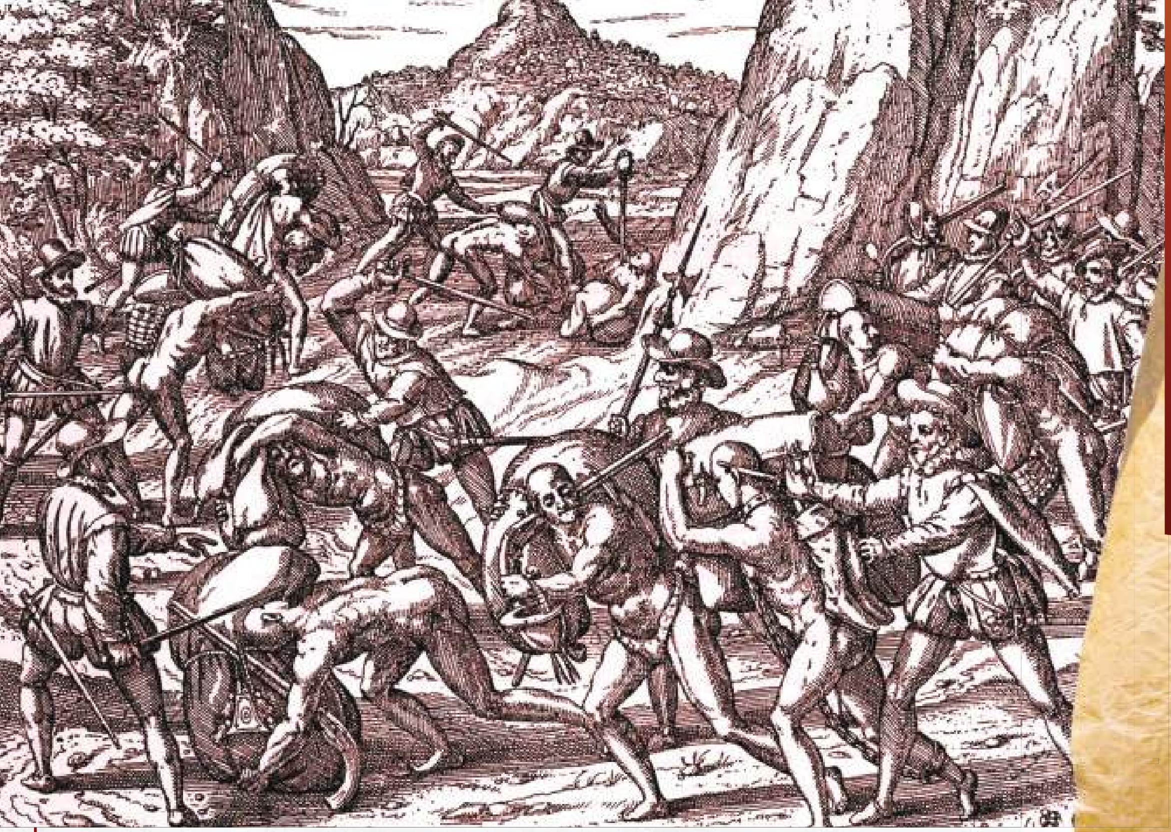
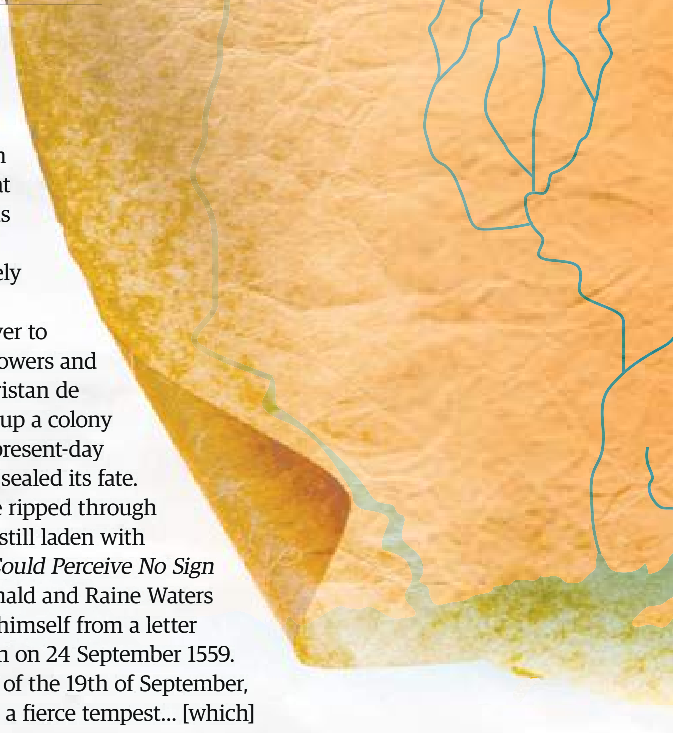


PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

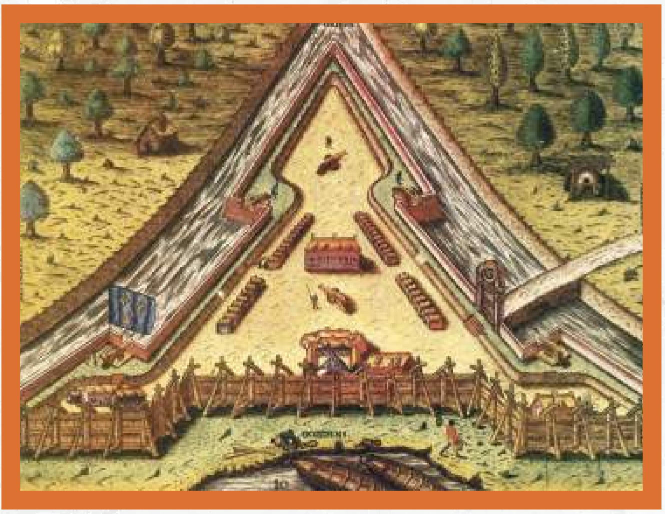
North America in the years that followed



population was the final straw. The settlement that was formed in September 1526 was abandoned by November of the same year. Of the original 600 inhabitants, only 150 survived. It would be many years before the Spanish made further attempts to create a colony in North America, and in the meantime their arch-rivals the French and the English were beginning to eye the New World for themselves.

HOSTILE NEW WORLD

Harsh weather, disease, poor supplies and conflict with indigenous inhabitants were to be the key common elements that all the early settlements faced. By 1541 the French had made their mark by building the colony of Charlesbourg-Royal in the area of modern-day Quebec in Canada. Its founder, Jacques Cartier, was, like many before him, looking for lucrative trade routes through to China and Asia. He didn't succeed, but at least at first the colony survived despite harsh weather, and it was well-fortified, built in two sections to protect the ships and houses, even having a hill fort for defence. The relative harmony with the local Iroquoian native population, however, soured due to lack of discipline and respect by the settlers. Having found what they believed to be diamonds and gold, Cartier and his followers decided to cut their losses, believing the colony doomed to failure, and set sail for France in 1542. Eventually the official leader of the colony, de Roberval, arrived but matters only got worse. The classic combination of disease, bad weather and poor relations with local tribes made the fort inhabitable and it was abandoned in 1543. The dream of riches also floundered. What they had taken to be diamonds and gold were nothing more than very similar, but ultimately worthless, minerals.



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The severe weather was never to favour any of the colonising powers and when, in 1559, the Spaniard Tristan de Luna y Arellano landed to set up a colony at Santa Maria de Ochuse, or present-day Pensacola, nature had already sealed its fate. In September 1559 a hurricane ripped through the fleet of 13 ships that were still laden with provisions. In their book *We Could Perceive No Sign Of Them*, 2020, David MacDonald and Raine Waters include the words of de Luna himself from a letter written to King Phillip of Spain on 24 September 1559. "On Monday, during the night of the 19th of September, there came up from the North a fierce tempest… [which] did irreparable damage to the ships of the fleet. This has reduced us to such extremity that unless I provide soon for the need in which it left us, I do not know how I can maintain the people."

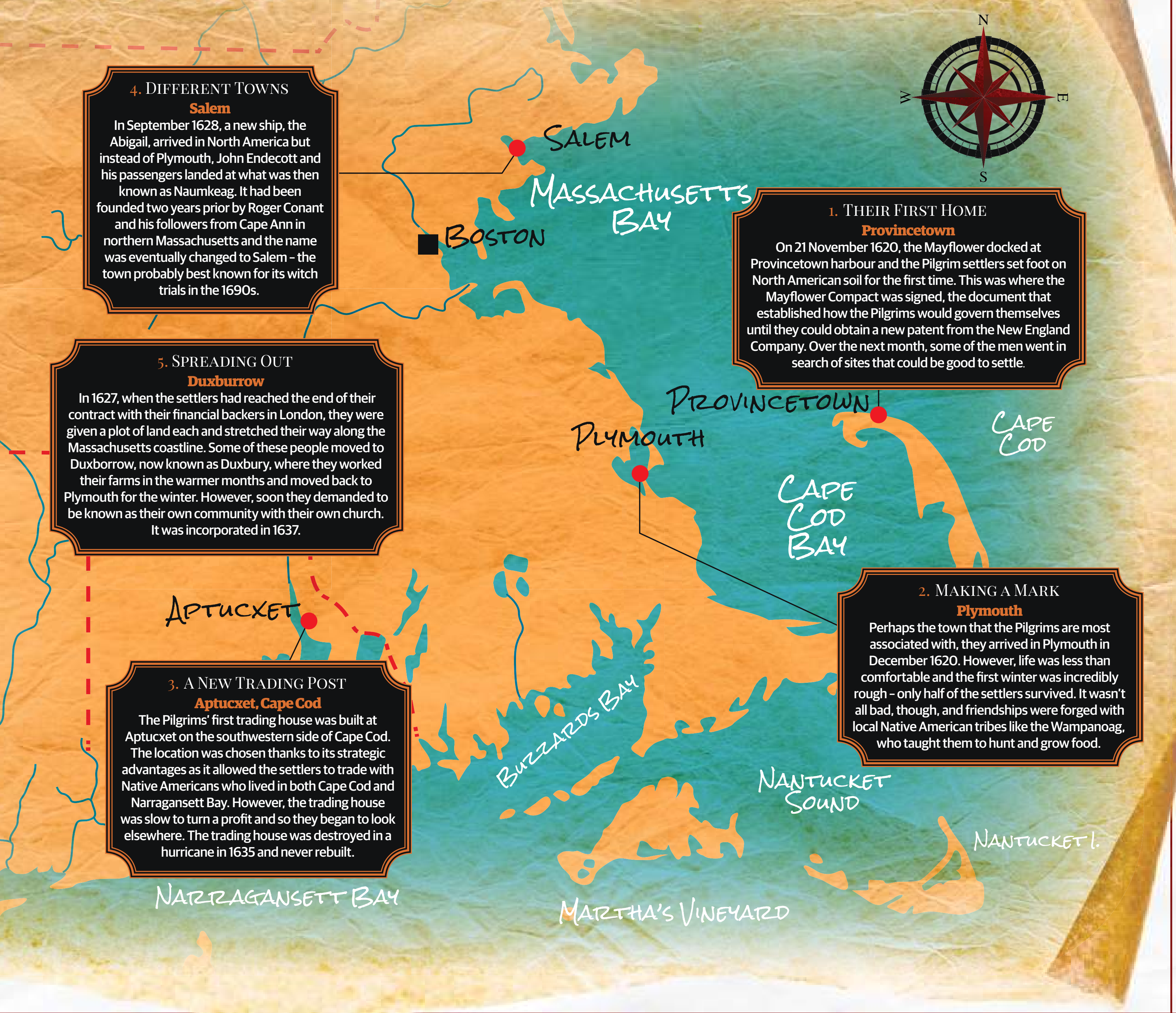
Desperate attempts to find food inland proved insufficient for the needs of the colony, and expected supplies were long overdue. By January 1561 all seemed lost. De Luna relented, survivors were evacuated, and the settlement was abandoned. But this was far from the end of the story for Spain.

IMPERIAL RIVALRIES

Perhaps the best indication of how rivalry between European powers was transported across the Atlantic is the story of Fort Caroline. Built by 200 French colonists in 1564 in northeastern Florida, the pattern of calamity that blighted all settlements continued. It was then, in 1565, that the Spanish learned of the settlement and decided to act. Fort Caroline's leader, Jean Ribault had already reinforced the fort with hundreds more soldiers and colonists, but the danger initially came from a Spanish fleet led by Pedro Menendez de Aviles. Ribault's ships drove them back.

ABOVE-LEFT The treatment of native tribes was brutal and both sides committed atrocities

LEFT Fort Caroline was the embodiment of Spanish rivalry with France both in Europe and in the New World



4. Different Towns

Salem

In September 1628, a new ship, the Abigail, arrived in North America but instead of Plymouth, John Endecott and his passengers landed at what was then known as Naumkeag. It had been founded two years prior by Roger Conant and his followers from Cape Ann in northern Massachusetts and the name was eventually changed to Salem – the town probably best known for its witch trials in the 1690s.

1. Their First Home

Provincetown

On 21 November 1620, the Mayflower docked at Provincetown harbour and the Pilgrim settlers set foot on North American soil for the first time. This was where the Mayflower Compact was signed, the document that established how the Pilgrims would govern themselves until they could obtain a new patent from the New England Company. Over the next month, some of the men went in search of sites that could be good to settle.

5. Spreading Out

Duxburrow

In 1627, when the settlers had reached the end of their contract with their financial backers in London, they were given a plot of land each and stretched their way along the Massachusetts coastline. Some of these people moved to Duxborrow, now known as Duxbury, where they worked their farms in the warmer months and moved back to Plymouth for the winter. However, soon they demanded to be known as their own community with their own church. It was incorporated in 1637.

2. Making a Mark

Plymouth

Perhaps the town that the Pilgrims are most associated with, they arrived in Plymouth in December 1620. However, life was less than comfortable and the first winter was incredibly rough – only half of the settlers survived. It wasn't all bad, though, and friendships were forged with local Native American tribes like the Wampanoag, who taught them to hunt and grow food.

3. A New Trading Post

Aptucxet, Cape Cod

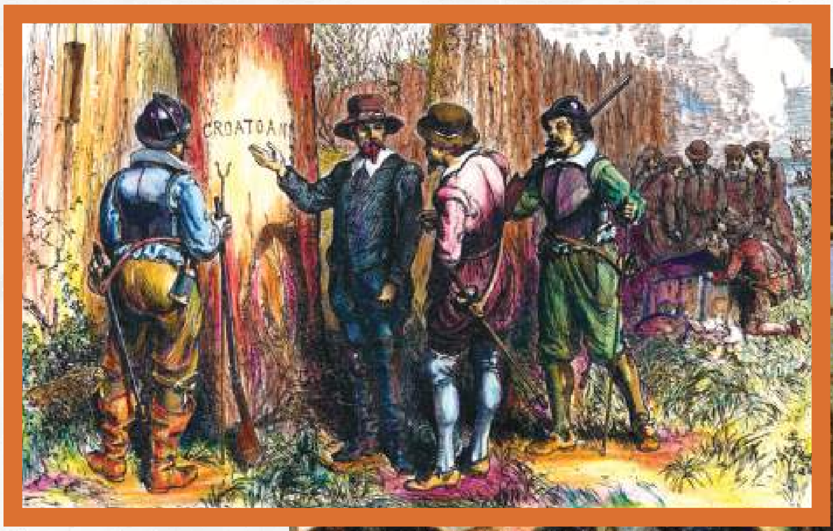
The Pilgrims' first trading house was built at Aptucxet on the southwestern side of Cape Cod. The location was chosen thanks to its strategic advantages as it allowed the settlers to trade with Native Americans who lived in both Cape Cod and Narragansett Bay. However, the trading house was slow to turn a profit and so they began to look elsewhere. The trading house was destroyed in a hurricane in 1635 and never rebuilt.

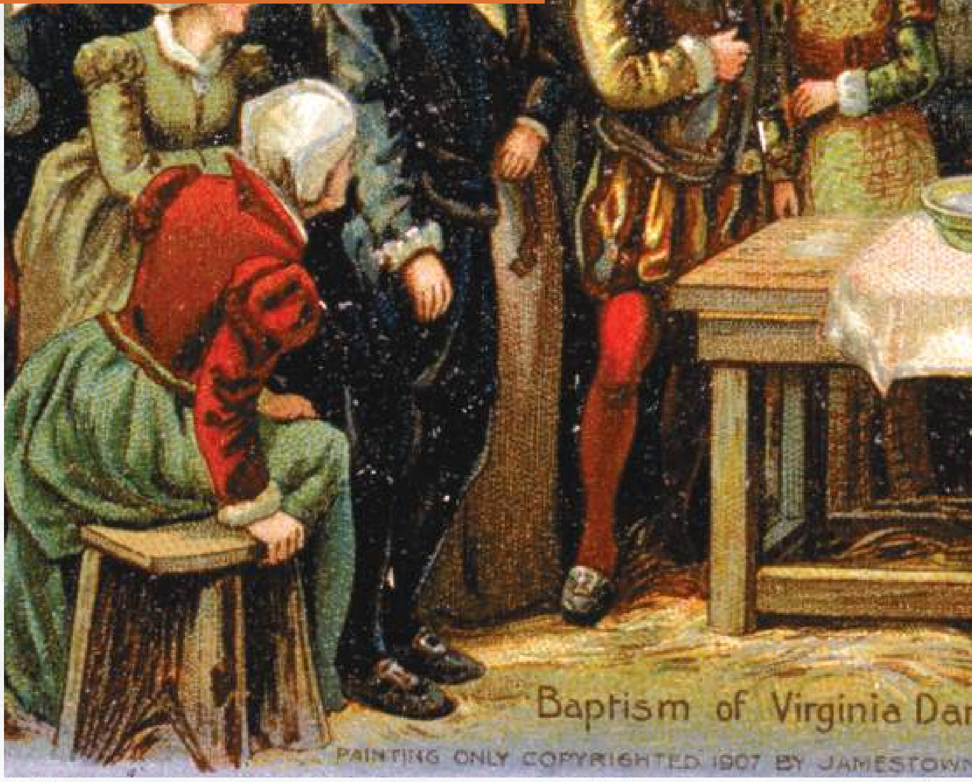
The Spaniards landed further down the coast and built a fort. This was to be known as St Augustine and, ironically, would become the longest inhabited colony on the North American continent. Determined to overcome the Spanish threat Ribault sailed his fleet to destroy the new fort. However, a storm once again changed the balance of power, hampering Ribault's progress and allowing Menendez to march overland. Fort Caroline was taken by complete surprise as, according to MacDonald and Waters, the storm had left the French feeling less vulnerable to attack, but with typical brutality the Spanish killed around 140, taking some hostage for ransom and sparing women and children to be taken back to Spain. They also reveal in their book that after the fort had fallen, stranded sailors on sandbanks were offered surrender, but upon capture by Menendez's forces were then massacred in the sand dunes. Their leader, Ribault, was to meet the same fate. Spanish suppression of the French was complete.

"THE WEATHER WAS COLDER THAN EXPECTED AND DISEASE BEGAN TO RUN THROUGH THE SETTLEMENT"

RELYING ON THE NATIVES

An essential part of a colony's existence was the ability to feed itself and build its population. A major factor in the failure of many early colonies was timing – what time of year they would make the perilous journey across the Atlantic to make it as safe as possible, but also what time of the year they would arrive in time to raise crops. It would have been impossible to bring with them all the supplies needed to be self-sufficient while their own food source was established. And so to a great extent, they were reliant upon the indigenous peoples they found in the New World to help them. The truth is, however, that it was an expectation of the indigenous population to help, not a hope that they would. ▶




Baptism of Virginia Dar
PAINTING ONLY COPYRIGHTED 1907 BY JAMESTOWN

ABOVE-INSET A single word was the only cryptic clue as to the fate of the Roanoke colony

ABOVE The birth and baptism of Virginia Dare, the first English child born in North America, has become entwined with the myth and folklore of 'The Lost Colony'

Billy Wellman sums it up concisely in his 2023 book *American History.* The arrival of the explorers was the beginning of the end of life as the Native Americans knew it. Subjected to foreign diseases and unimaginable brutality at the hands of the colonists, they were treated as less than human. And so it was that the initial generosity of the Native Americans was not reciprocated. They were often kidnapped and sent back to Europe, only to return as trained interpreters for expeditions but, at the earliest opportunity, many escaped to find and restore their previous lives among their own people. Their society was built around providing enough for themselves with little or no surplus and stretching their resources to help the new arrivals put tremendous strain on their own survival. From this came frustration, anger, and eventually conflict.

There is no doubt that the European settlers regarded the native populations they discovered as nothing more than savages, inferiors whose duty it was to support and respect the status and power of the superior Europeans. Except that, in an unknown New World, with animals, plants, terrain, weather and hunger they had never experienced before, the colonists did not have the power. They were at the mercy of everything around them, and for many the only salvation was through their faith in God.

A RELIGIOUS MISSION

It is true to say that religion is a thread that runs through the story of the early colonists, but often for different reasons. The chaplain of the Spanish Expedition states quite emphatically that the actions of Menendez against the French Huguenot Protestants is justified, and delights in being allowed to 'save' the 'true Christian' Roman Catholic Frenchmen from the same fate as their countrymen. For other colonists the role of religion was one of salvation for the 'poor native savages' who had not yet found God.

In 1570 a Spanish Jesuit named Father de Segura had the unusual plan of creating an unarmed mission in Virginia. Along with seven other Jesuits, a young Spanish boy, and their interpreter and guide Don Luis, originally known as Paquiquineo, a native who had converted to Christianity, they arrived in Virginia and set up their mission at Ajacan on the Chesapeake Bay. Having contacted the local indigenous community, their reports back were upbeat. However, it soon transpired that food was short, even for the natives. Also, Don Luis stated his wish to visit his old village. When he did not return some of the Jesuits went to find him. He refused to return, and the Spanish were ambushed and killed. Returning to the mission as Paquiquineo with his people the rest of the Jesuits were murdered and only the young boy was spared. In 1572 a ship returned to Ajacan to rescue the boy and punish the perpetrators. It is the boy's account of events that led to many indigenous people being hanged and with it the Spanish interest in Virginia came to an end.

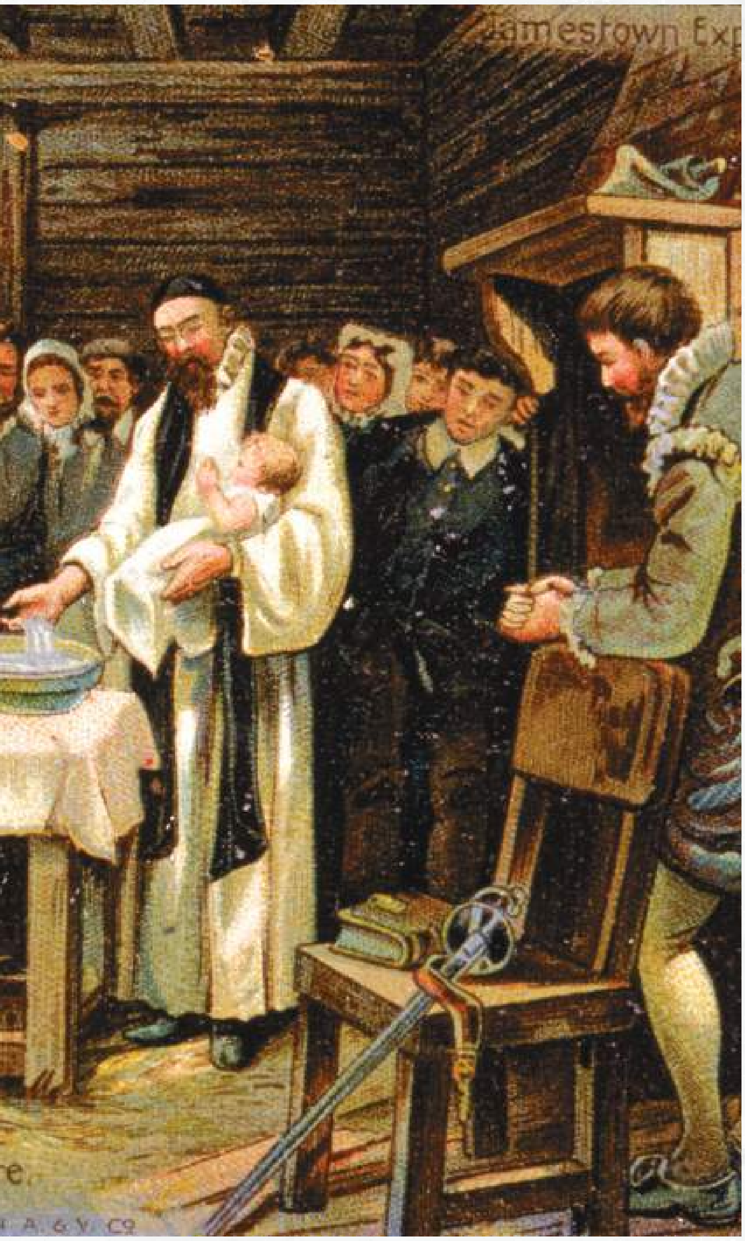
ROANOKE

The events at Roanoke are the most enduring mystery of the early colonies, and one that is still debated and speculated upon today. It is also a story of not one but two mysterious disappearances. Having been granted a charter by Queen Elizabeth I to establish a colony in North America, in 1584 Sir Walter Raleigh sponsored the exploration of modern-day North Carolina and Southern Virginia, eventually establishing a basic settlement in 1585 on the island of Roanoke just off the North Carolina coast. Leaving behind around 100 colonists the ships returned for more supplies. Following attacks by indigenous persons the settlers were rescued by Sir Francis Drake who sailed them back to England.

When the original fleet returned, they found the colony abandoned. Leaving a small contingent of 15 men behind, the ships once again returned to England. By 1587 they were back with around another 115 colonists, this time including women and children, among them the leader of the settlers John White and his pregnant daughter. On 18 August 1587 Virginia Dare became the first English child to be born in North America. However, the original 15 men had mysteriously disappeared.

Food was short and supplies were needed. White was compelled to return to England, leaving behind 117 colonists. In 1588 White found himself caught up in the war with the Spanish Armada. There would be no relief for Roanoke that year. Or the year after. Raleigh was busy at court and progress was slow. Eventually, in 1590 John White set foot back on Roanoke. It was completely abandoned, the houses dismantled in an orderly way and a fortified palisade erected. The agreed sign of danger – a carved cross on a tree – was nowhere to be seen. There was only

> "EUROPEAN SETTLERS REGARDED THE NATIVE POPULATIONS THEY DISCOVERED AS NOTHING MORE THAN SAVAGES"

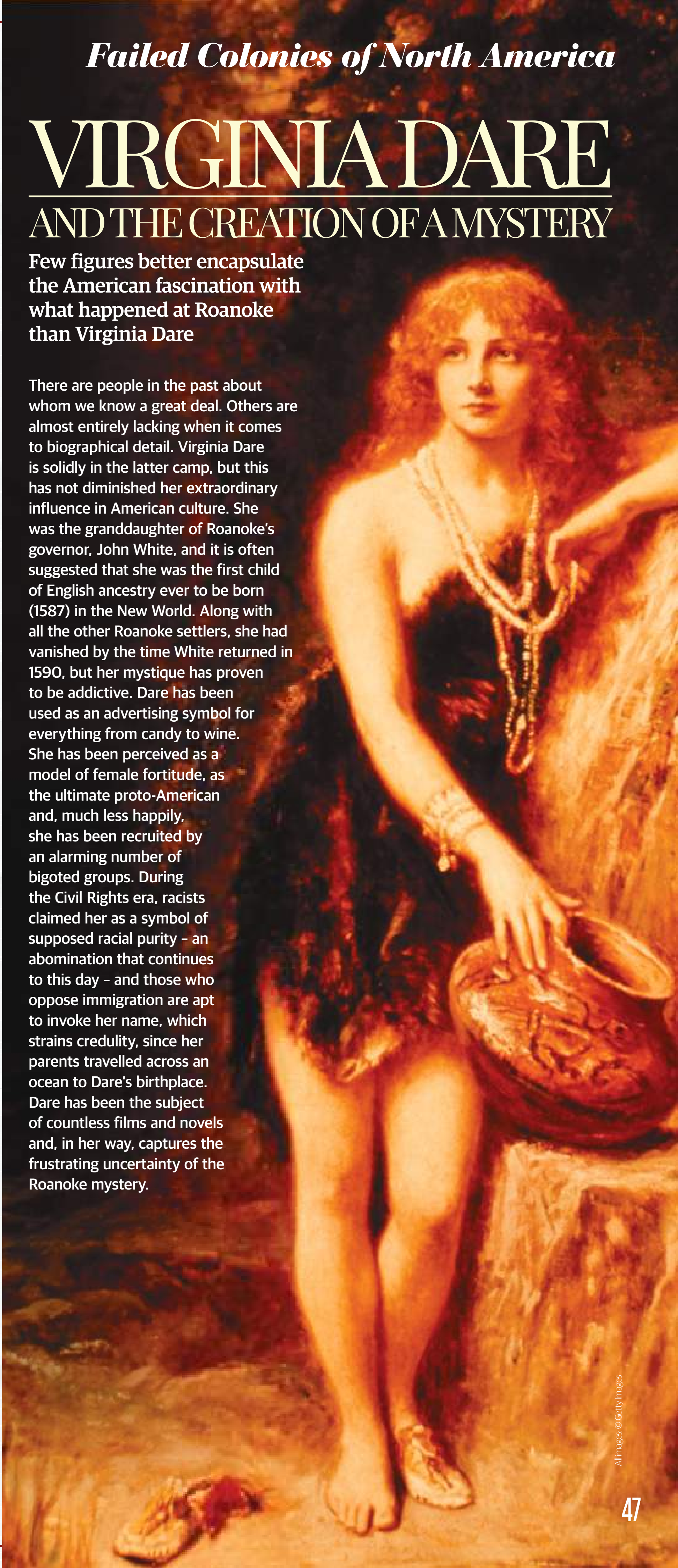


the word CROATOAN carved into one of the palisade posts – the name of an island, and a people, a short distance away. There was no sign of a struggle or a fight.

Relationships with the Croatoans had been mixed, so what had happened? Deceit like at Ajacan? A genuine exodus to find a better settlement? Their boats were gone certainly. Bad weather prevented a search, and so to this day the world speculates as to the fate of the Roanoke settlers, and we will possibly never know.

NEW COLONIES

Colonisation, especially by the English, gathered pace, driven by trade. The two parts of the Virginia Company, Plymouth and London, set up their own colonies in 1607, Popham in Maine and Jamestown in Virginia. Both had the same problems as their predecessors, but Popham was battered by severe winters, lack of supplies and a loss of leadership and was abandoned. Jamestown was to survive, despite huge loss of life to disease and the 'starving time' of 1609-1610 when they were reduced to cannibalism. MacDonald and Waters cite the 16th century historian Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdes in which he says the common flaw of all colonies was ignorance. Inappropriate preparation, lack of funds, lack of respect for native tribes, ignorance of timing. Lessons needed to be learned for the colonies to grow into the 13 that formed the original backbone of the United States of America.



VIRGINIA DARE

AND THE CREATION OF A MYSTERY

Few figures better encapsulate the American fascination with what happened at Roanoke than Virginia Dare

There are people in the past about whom we know a great deal. Others are almost entirely lacking when it comes to biographical detail. Virginia Dare is solidly in the latter camp, but this has not diminished her extraordinary influence in American culture. She was the granddaughter of Roanoke's governor, John White, and it is often suggested that she was the first child of English ancestry ever to be born (1587) in the New World. Along with all the other Roanoke settlers, she had vanished by the time White returned in 1590, but her mystique has proven to be addictive. Dare has been used as an advertising symbol for everything from candy to wine. She has been perceived as a model of female fortitude, as the ultimate proto-American and, much less happily, she has been recruited by an alarming number of bigoted groups. During the Civil Rights era, racists claimed her as a symbol of supposed racial purity – an abomination that continues to this day – and those who oppose immigration are apt to invoke her name, which strains credulity, since her parents travelled across an ocean to Dare's birthplace. Dare has been the subject of countless films and novels and, in her way, captures the frustrating uncertainty of the Roanoke mystery.

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RE-DISCOVERING TRANS HISTORY

As the world celebrates international pride month, we spoke to four leading experts about the importance of trans history and their hopes for the future

Written by Callum McKelvie

June is traditionally international pride month, a time to celebrate LGBTQ+ lives and promote the ongoing fight for greater freedoms and understanding. For history lovers, it is a chance to explore often overlooked and sometimes underappreciated historical perspectives from this community. However, currently, trans persons have been the focus of a slew of negative press and attention. In this climate of rising anti-trans sentiment, it is important to listen to the stories of trans persons and look at historical examples of trans lives. We spoke to four academics about the importance of studying trans history, how the concept of gender has shifted, and their hopes for the future. ▶

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LEFT Coccinelle, French actress, singer and model who was an international celebrity in the 1960s

OUR EXPERTS

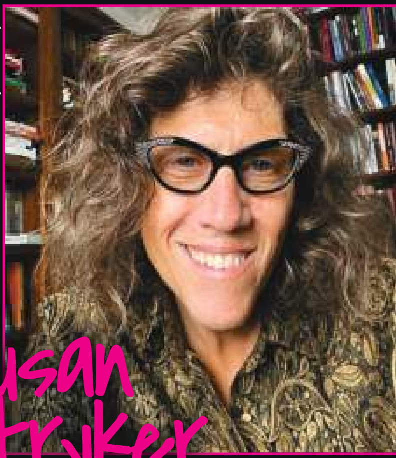


Photo courtesy of Susan Stryker

Susan Stryker

Photo by Mike Galvin

Kit Heyam

Photo courtesy of Dr. G. Samantha Rosenthal

Samantha Rosenthal

Photo by Code Purple Photography

Jen Manion

PICTURE POST
4d
ROBERTA COWELL'S OWN STORY
—Exclusive
HULTON'S NATIONAL WEEKLY
13 MARCH 1954

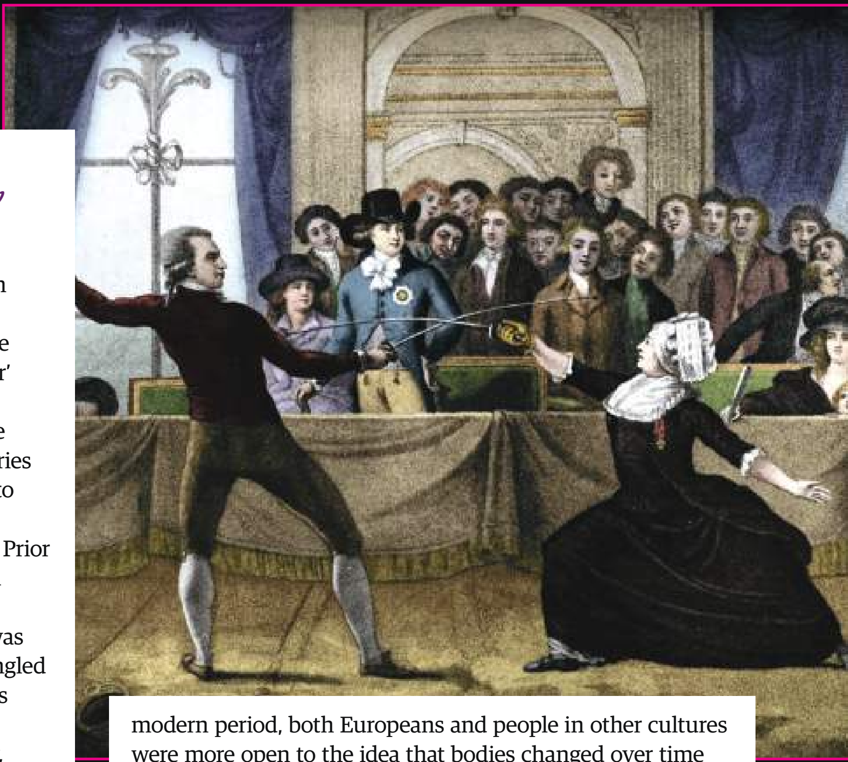
ABOVE Roberta Cowell was the first British trans woman known to have gender affirming surgery, which she underwent in 1948

BELOW In Switzerland in 1586, Barbara Brunner was discovered to be male under their clothes and was victimised, being burnt at the stake

How has the idea of gender identity changed through history?

Kit Heyam: The term 'gender identity' – and indeed, the use of the word 'gender' to specifically talk about male, female and related categories – only dates back to mid-20th century Western sexology. Prior to that in Western culture, what we now call gender was inextricably entangled with other aspects of our experience like our sexuality, our dress, and our social role – and that's still the case in many cultures today. This means there's so many fascinating histories of gender nonconformity which are too messy to fit into modern/Western trans categories – but which still show us that gender has never been fixed, uncontested, or tied to the body.

Susan Stryker: In early modern Europe, new ideologies emerged that imagined the body as a fixed and unchangeable biological entity, used to anchor people in similarly fixed and unchangeable social categories. These new ideologies had everything to do with the emergence of chattel slavery and the colonial Eurocentric world order, and underpin not only contemporary ideas about gender's relation to sex, but questions of racial classification and hierarchy. Before the early modern period, both Europeans and people in other cultures were more open to the idea that bodies changed over time in response to changing environmental influences (including what we now think of as 'sex'). Bodies were not imaged as biological anchors permanently binding individuals to unchangeable categories.



Where does the concept of being 'born in the wrong body' originate?

Jen Manion: Many of the phrases that you see in contemporary trans discourses, such as the idea that someone was 'born in the wrong body' were ideas crafted by mid-20th century doctors to distinguish people they deemed 'true' transexuals from more casual crossdressers and drag queens. It's also important for us to understand the roots of ideas created to regulate and pathologise us (as well as to determine who deserves medical care) so we can decide whether these concepts and categories serve us as queer/trans people in the 21st century. We shouldn't accept them uncritically!

Samantha Rosenthal: Trans people adopted the language of these doctors because we knew, strategically, that these concepts would open doors for us to access the hormones, surgeries, and other healthcare that we need. Today we see trans and non-binary people using the concept of gender identity as a way to challenge the gender binary in all aspects of life, as well as to argue for laws and policies that protect people on this basis, rather than sex assigned at birth.

What are some of the key themes in trans history that deserve to be explored?

SR: With over 20 years of scholarship on transgender history, we have a good sense of at least some of the major themes in mainstream US or European transgender history, including anti-cross-dressing laws; transness and marriage; the development of trans and intersex medicine; early transgender publications and spaces of belonging. But we need to move away from the US/European-centric model, and also challenge the whiteness inherent in early transgender historiography.

With increasing political attacks on transgender youth and gender-affirming healthcare, I think it is imperative that we demonstrate the history of both of these in strategic opposition to this legislation. I also believe that historicising the origins and history of the so-called trans-exclusionary radical feminist movement is something we must do to

SUSAN STRYKER

Professor Emerita of Gender and Women's Studies, Susan Stryker is also the executive editor of *Transgender Studies Quarterly.* She has authored numerous books including *Transgender History: The Roots Of Today's Revolution* (2008) and co-edited *The Transgender Studies Reader* (2006). More information about her work can be found at ***www.susanstryker.net***

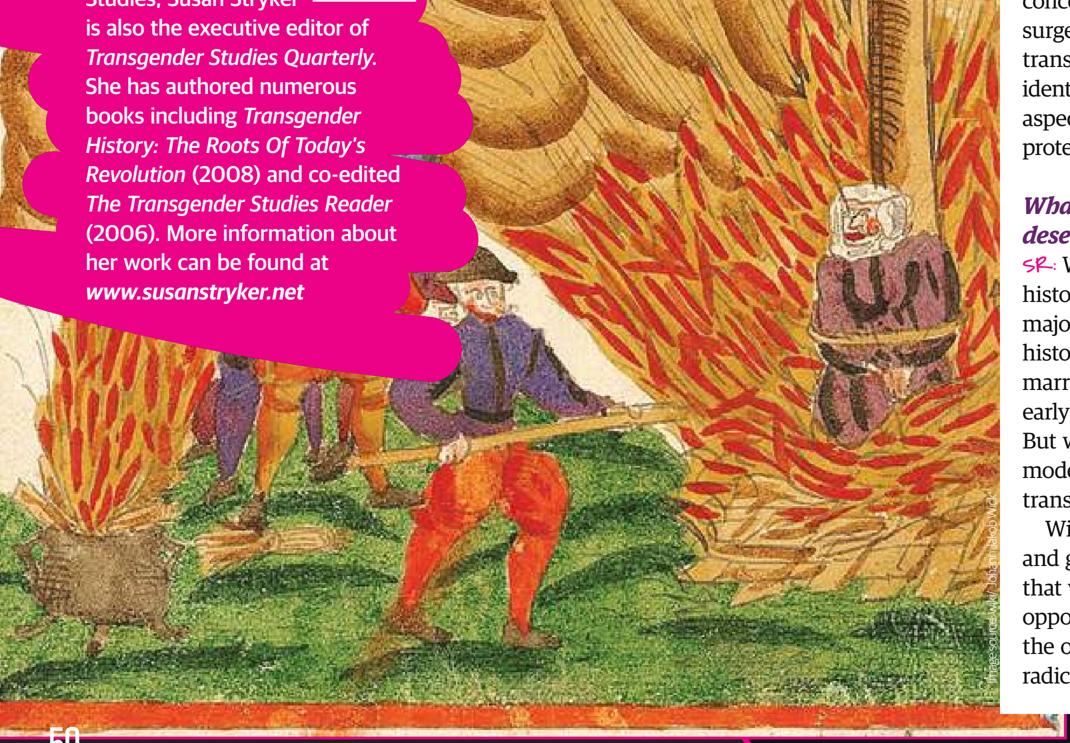
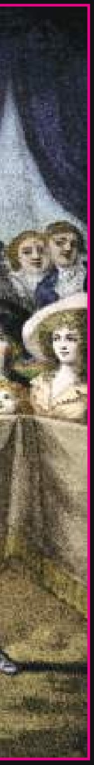


Image source: wiki/ Johann Jakob Wick



"It's really important to describe people on their own historical and cultural terms"

LEFT Chevalier d'Éon, who lived as a woman from 1777, fencing with Chevalier de Saint-Georges

RIGHT Albert Cashier was a Union soldier during the American Civil War. They lived as a man until their death

challenge some of the claims made by contemporary anti-trans feminists.

JM: It's hard to divorce ourselves entirely from the medical narrative and timeline, not only because access to medical care has been an important part of trans identity for some but really because doctors left so many records of their thinking and their work with patients. You could argue the inclusion of a nondiscrimination clause in the Affordable Care Act in 2016 is one of the most monumental moments in trans medical history in the US, for example, because it actually made care accessible to lots of people for the first time.

What are some of the significant events in trans history that deserve to be highlighted and analysed?

JM: I think we are best served by remembering key instances of trans community-making and collective resistance. The Riot at Compton's cafeteria in San Francisco in 1966 is a very powerful early example. Obviously we know lots of trans, gender nonconforming, drag queens, street kids and sex workers participated in Stonewall in a significant way, so we are at the heart of the defining moment of the LGBTQ civil rights revolution in 1969. Early trans-led publications really spread information and created community, such as *Transvestia*, *Transgender Tapestry*, *Chrysalis*, as well as early writings by Leslie Feinberg, Kate Bornstein and Susan Stryker. The launch of the Reed Erickson Foundation in 1964 by Reed Erickson was also very significant in funding and shaping early advocacy efforts.

KH: One event that has received plenty of historical attention, but is far more rarely analysed in terms of trans history, is the First World War. During the war, people found themselves separated along the lines of gender assigned at birth – women and people assigned female at birth (AFAB) working together, men and people assigned male at birth (AMAB) working or imprisoned separately – at the very same time as new understandings of sexuality and gender were emerging in Western culture through the field of sexology. Suddenly, this provided incredibly fertile ground for gender nonconformity: in all-AMAB internment camps, for example, some internees even lived as women for years, taking on women's names and she/her pronouns and actually finding themselves fully accepted as women.

Often, though, it's just as important not to look for individual seismic events, but to look for ways of living which were commonplace in the past, many of which continue into the present. For over a century in early modern Japan, one group of AMAB people known as *wakashu* were understood as neither male nor female, in part because of their sexual behaviour. And in South Asia and North America, hijras and Two-Spirit people have long lived in ways that defy binary understandings of gender.

Why do you think it's important for historians to look for LGBTQ+ figures in history?

KH: It's particularly essential in our contemporary political climate because the denial of LGBTQ+ history is so central to many anti-LGBTQ+ (and particularly anti-trans) arguments. If trans people are a new invention, our opponents suggest, that means our identities shouldn't be taken seriously, and new laws should be passed to protect the rest of society from us. Understanding that gender has always been in flux is crucial to challenging those arguments – and is equally crucial to providing often isolated people with a sense of community and connection through history.

JM: Most historians ignore LGBTQ+ history, for whatever reason, and most LGBTQ+ people will tell you that they feel a great sense of loss and betrayal from being denied these histories in high school and college. Not only do we need to understand

▶

BELOW Christine Jorgensen, an American woman who became famous in the 1950s for having gender affirming surgery

DR KIT HEYAM

Kit Heyam is a writer, academic and heritage practitioner specialising in queer and trans history, as well as a freelance trans awareness trainer. They are the author of *Before We Were Trans: A New History Of Gender* (2022), and work with museums to diversify their representation of queer and gendered history. More information about their work can be found at: ***www.kitheyam.com***

Kit Heyam
Before We Were Trans
A New History of Gender

BEFORE WE WERE TRANS: A NEW HISTORY OF GENDER IS OUT NOW FROM BASIC BOOKS

All images: © Alamy, © Getty Images

BCP1-7/28-SACRAMENTO:Tamara Rees(C),paratrooper turned "woman"by sex surgery,poses on burlesque stage with new husband,J.E.Courtland III, of Los Angeles.The couple will lecture on"straight psychology".Sonda Marlowe,headlined stripper,add atmosphere at right.UNITED PRESS TELE

JEN MANION

Professor of History and Sexuality, Women's & Gender Studies at Amherst College, Jen Manion is the author of *Female Husbands: A Trans History* (2020), among numerous other works. They have actively been involved in the promotion of LGBTQ+ history and served on the American Historical Association's board for LGBTQ+ history. More information about their work can be found at: ***www.jenmanion.com***

how LGBTQ people and communities lived in the past and changed over time, but we really need to take a closer look at organising and advocacy that was effective in changing laws, challenging bias, and really improving life for the diverse LGBTQ communities.

SS: It contests the erasure of queer and trans lives from the historical record, unsettles 'cisheteronormative' assumptions and frames of reference, and raises fascinating metahistorical questions about the analytical categories through which we understand the strangeness of the past. It provides 'news you can use' to push back on ideas that trans is something new. And there's just a lot of really interesting stories to tell about the often unexpected ways people have lived their lives in times past.

What are some of the challenges to finding trans identifying people in history?

JM: The key to this work is to let go of the idea of 'identifying' as the organising principle of the research. If you are talking about 20th century people who left letters and diaries then sure, you can get that kind of insight into someone's experience. But for others, we just focus on trans expressions and try to understand what it meant to them. We owe it to those people not to assume they are exactly like us.

SS: There's an 'apples and oranges' problem, in trying to compare current and former forms of gender variance. On the one hand, the empirical record is filled with people who lived lives in ways that contradict contemporary dominant cultural understandings of what makes a man a man or a woman a woman. On the other hand, it's anachronistic to call these 'trans people' in an identitarian sense because that framework and way of knowing was not available to them. Care needs to be taken to treat 'trans' as an analytical concept, one that helps us understand the variability of gender over time and across culture, rather than seeking to impose it on others.

ABOVE After Caroline Cossey (also known as Tula) appeared in the 1981 James Bond film *For Your Eyes Only*, the *News Of The World* outed her as a transgender woman. Their behaviour had a devastating effect, but she soon released her autobiography *I am A Woman*, telling her story her way

ABOVE-INSET Tamara Rees (centre) poses with her husband and a burlesque dancer in 1955. She published her autobiography the same year

KH: It's really important to me, from an ethical perspective, to describe people on their own historical and cultural terms – and often, that means *not* using the word 'trans' to describe them. If we look for 'trans identifying people' in history, we'll also usually find ourselves limited by our contemporary ideas of what makes someone 'really trans', such as having a clear and stable binary gender. We can navigate those challenges by thinking more expansively about histories of gender nonconformity: looking for histories which don't show us trans-identifying people, but *do* show us that understanding gender in a fluid way has always been possible.

Is there a trans figure in history you would particularly like to champion?

JM: I think Alan Hart is an interesting figure. As far as we know, he was one of the first people to access medical treatment to change his sex – in 1917. It's also important that we understand Hart in the context of his relationship. Edna Ruddick is a fascinating figure who completed a master's degree in sociology at Columbia University in 1918. The pair married in New York in 1925. Hart became a doctor himself but his entire career was derailed by transphobia, forcing the

All images: © Alamy, © Getty Images

couple to move repeatedly. Hart resorted to writing novels as a creative outlet and alternative career. When they settled in Hartford, CT in 1945, Edna taught psychology at Hillyer College and Hart worked for the department of public health until his death in 1962.

KH: One of my favourite figures from trans and intersex history is Thomas(ine) Hall, who was an intersex person born in Newcastle and emigrated to the North American colony of Virginia in the early 17th century. Thomas(ine) shows up in a 1629 court case, originally on trial for sexual transgression but later also under scrutiny for gender nonconformity: the local community couldn't agree on whether they were a man or a woman. In response, Thomas(ine) told the court that they were 'both' – a fantastic and inspiring rejection of gender and sex binaries from a period long before many assumed it was possible.

What are your hopes for the future study of trans history?

JM: I want to learn more about trans people and communities of colour, as they are currently underrepresented in both the available history and the archives. I think trans history has the opportunity to reinvigorate gender as a category of analysis for everyone, not just trans people. And I hope we use our work not simply to 'uplift' individuals but really to understand how institutional, legal, economic, social, and cultural norms shape, restrict, and uplift particular gender expressions.

KH: Trans history shows us that gender has always been open to challenge, and I hope we can use that as inspiration for living more playfully and expansively in our own lives. I hope, too, that studying trans history will become less of an urgent political task, and more of a joyful journey of exploration.

SR: I believe that trans youth in particular need to know about transgender history, especially on the local and regional level. This is because these histories give young people a sense that they belong, even as many political and religious leaders, school administrators and maybe even their own parents tell them otherwise.

What I want is to tell the stories of everyday trans people. Every city, town and region has a transgender history. Local histories will help people – particularly in rural or marginalised areas such as in Appalachia where I live – understand that transness is part of their region's own heritage, and not some imported phenomenon. There's also a transhistorical sense of belonging and placemaking that comes from one's knowledge of local transgender history.

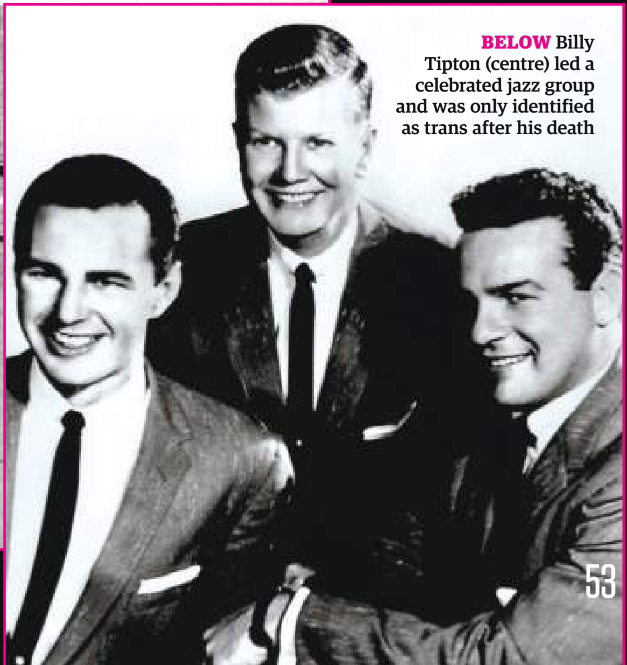
The number of academics researching or teaching about transgender history is still a very small number. We must be sure to engage in public programming and discourse around transness in our local and regional communities. We need to talk back to the politicians and political activists who are seeking to paint transness as some new, scary phenomenon. Transgender history is an important bulwark against the current anti-trans moral panic and political crackdowns. ○

AMERICAS GREATEST SEPIA PIANA ARTIST
BROWN BOMBER OF SOPHISTICATED SONGS
Gladys Bentley

ABOVE Gladys Bentley was a Blues and Jazz singer who was known for their non-conforming personality during the early part of their career

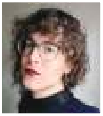
> "I hope that studying trans history will become less of an urgent political task"

LEFT In 1977 tennis player Renée Richards, forbidden from competing as a woman in the US Open, successfully sued and won



BELOW Billy Tipton (centre) led a celebrated jazz group and was only identified as trans after his death

DR SAMANTHA ROSENTHAL



Samantha Rosenthal is Associate Professor of History and Coordinator of the Public History Concentration at Roanoke College in Salem, Virginia. She is the author of two books, *Living Queer History: Remembrance And Belonging In A Southern City* and *Beyond Hawai'i: Native Labor In The Pacific World*. She is co-founder of the Southwest Virginia LGBTQ+ History Project, a nationally recognised queer public history initiative. More information about her work can be found at: ***www.gsrosenthal.com***

Living Queer History

LIVING QUEER HISTORY: REMEMBRANCE AND BELONGING IN A SOUTHERN CITY IS OUT NOW FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

HOW TO WIN A WAR

Lessons from the greatest battles in history

Written by Angus Konstam

Not every general can be Sun Tzu. Some might have benefited from the Chinese strategist's advice, but many military leaders, it seems, never bothered reading him – or more likely never knew he existed. Some great generals never had any formal military training; command was thrust upon them, thanks to their royal blood, their nobility or even their elevation by their peers. The idea of formal training in command and staff work is a relatively modern phenomenon, first emerging in its present form during the mid 19th century. Still, the best generals read about the campaigns of those who came before them.

For instance, the Emperor Napoleon rarely travelled anywhere without a small library, whose titles included Caesar's *Gallic Wars*, Arrian's *The Anabasis Of Alexander* [the Great], and other ancient military texts by Thucydides and Xenophon. The idea was that by studying the battles of the past, you would be better prepared to fight those of your own.

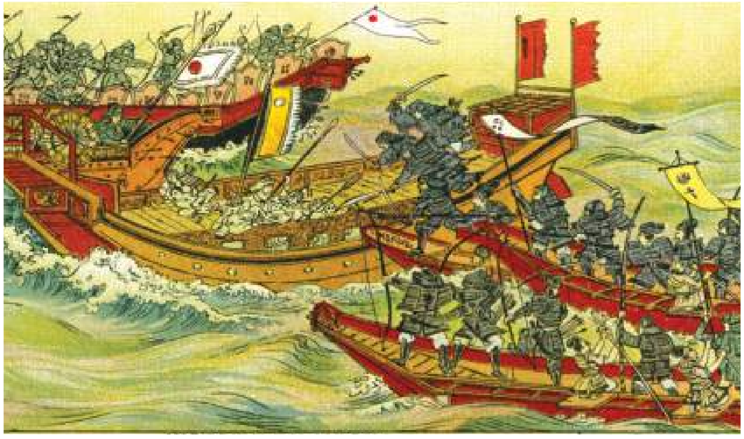
Of course, it could be argued that the problems facing Julius Caesar or Alexander the Great were very different from those of later generations of commanders. Still, if even Napoleon recognised the benefits of learning from the past, then the chances were, other generals would profit from them too. While writing *100 Greatest Battles* for Osprey Publishing, this link between commanders from previous centuries grew increasingly obvious to its author, Angus Konstam. For example, the tactics used by Caesar at the Siege of Alesia in 52 BCE would have influenced the operations of the Vietminh commander General Giáp at the Siege of Dien Bien Phu in 1954. The only time the adage that history repeats itself is especially true is when lessons gleaned from past battles are used to plan military operations in later centuries.

If Napoleon, one of history's greatest military commanders understood the benefits of studying past battles, then who are we to argue? Technologies change, as do the types of troops doing the fighting, or even the terrain being fought over. What doesn't change though, is the general situation facing the military commander on campaign, and the range of options open to them. What follows is a brief look at a few of these.

MANOEUVRABILITY

Usually, a mobile army had an edge over the enemy. Caesar's double lines of circumvallation at Alesia was a way of switching troops to where they were needed most while under attack by a Gallic horde, while at Carrhae the Parthians spectacularly defeated their Roman opponents by using their horse archers to best effect. This emphasis on manoeuvrability was repeated with great effect by the Saracens at Hattin (1187), the Christians at the Siege of Vienna (1683) and the French at the First Battle of the Marne (1914). At Tannenberg (1914), the Germans used railways to achieve the same ends as the French had used a fleet of taxis at the Marne. The result, though, was similar to that achieved by Caesar.

Manoeuvrability could also be denied an opponent. Robert the Bruce's victory over the English at Bannockburn was achieved by constricting the larger English army into a small patch of unsuitable ground. Terrain was also used in a similar way by the Japanese at Hakata Bay (1281), the French at Austerlitz (1805) and the Soviets at Stalingrad (1942). Throughout history, attacks on well-chosen positions have been costly, and the successful commander selected his battlefield with care.



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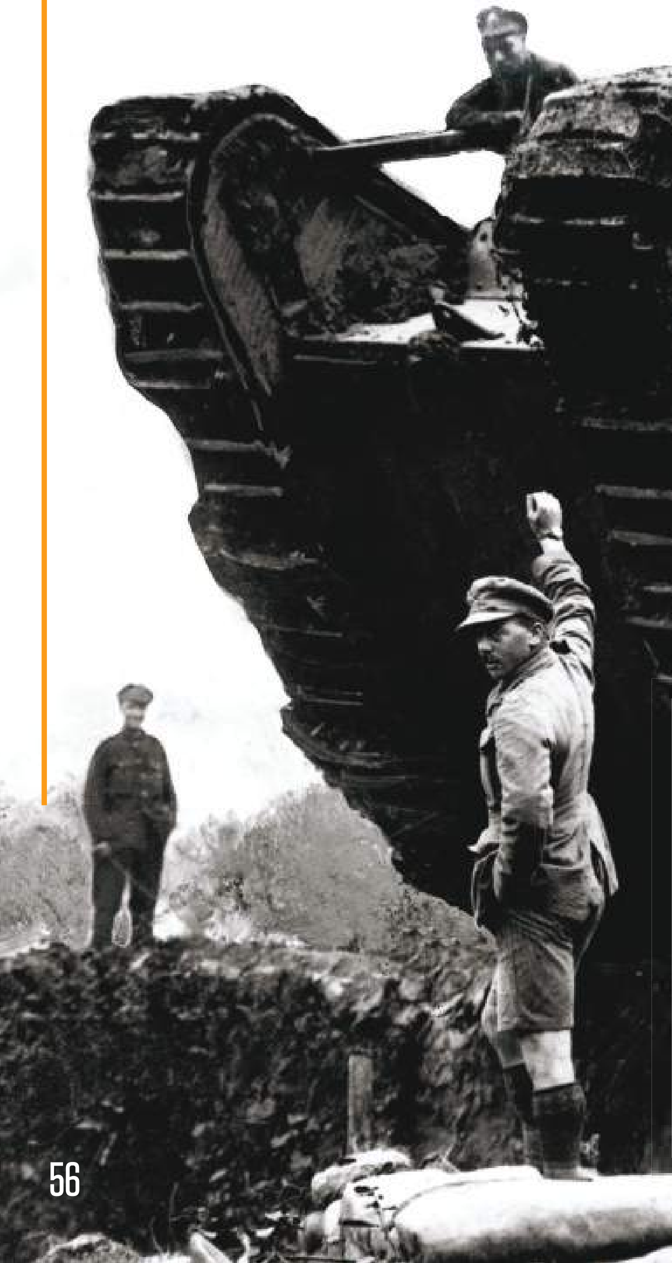
Opening images: **1.** Image by Steve Noon from Thermopylae 480 BC by Nic Fields © 2007 Osprey Publishing, **2.** Image by Adam Hook from German Infantryman vs Russian Infantryman by Robert Forczyk © 2015 Osprey Publishing, **3.** Image by Patrice Courcelle from Ticonderoga 1758 by René Chartrand © 2000 Osprey Publishing, **4.** © Getty Images

POSITION

Another very important factor was the ability to choose a good defensive position. This was as important to the ancient commander as it is today. The Greek position at Thermopylae was carefully chosen, and would have been unbreachable had the Persians not found a way to outflank it. If it suited the army, as it did for Henry V at Agincourt (1415), or the French at Fontenoy (1745) and Ticonderoga (1758), the British and their allies at Waterloo (1815), the Union at Gettysburg (1863) or the British at Imphal and Kohima (1944), then the chances of securing victory were markedly improved.

Linked to this is the ability of a commander to choose the type of terrain the battle was fought in. The Germanic victory over the Romans in the dense forests of the Teutoburger Wald (9 CE), or the Imperialist one at Pavia (1525), where the effectiveness of the French cavalry was nullified by fighting in wooded parkland both involved forcing the enemy to fight in disadvantageous terrain. This was repeated in slightly different circumstances at The Boyne (1690), Borodino (1812) and even Khe Sanh or Hue (1968), where the Viet Cong were lured out of the jungle to fight in a markedly less suitable environment.



PRESSING HOME AN ADVANTAGE

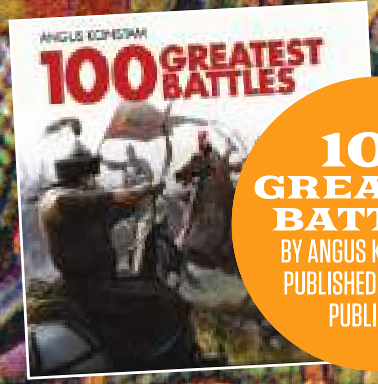
At Marathon (490 BCE) the Athenians used the superiority of their hoplites to break their less well-trained Persian opponents. Ten years later this reliance on quality almost worked in reverse at Thermopylae (480 BCE), when the Spartans and their allies tried to block the passage of a much larger but less-skilled Persian host. This same reliance on quality to overcome larger forces was used with similar effect by Frederick the Great at Leuthen (1757), von Hindenburg at Tannenberg (1914) and Guderian at Sedan (1940).

Technology too, or even just a tactical innovation, would also give one side the edge. This would secure victory at the battles of Leuctra (371 BCE), where the Thebans used an innovative method of deployment, and again by the Romans at Zama (202 BCE), the Parthians at Carrhae (53 BCE) and the Parliamentarians at Marston Moor (1644). In all these instances, victory was secured by making the most of an advantage gained from the way the troops were deployed on the battlefield. Later examples abound, from the superiority of British musketry at Quebec (1759) to the Allies' first deployment of massed tanks at Cambrai (1917). At the heart of these victories was the ability of a commander to recognise what gave his own troops the edge, and to press home that advantage.

SUBTERFUGE

Sun Tzu placed a great emphasis on the use of subterfuge in battle. Spies, informants, defection and the spreading of false information all played a part in ancient warfare, and led to Persian victory at Thermopylae, a Greek one at Salamis (480 BCE) and that of William the Conqueror at Hastings in 1066. The latter, a feigned flight by the Norman army, lured the Anglo-Saxons from a strong defensive position, and exposed them to a decisive counter-attack. This, though, was a tactical device straight out of the pages of Arrian's book on Alexander the Great, or from Sun Tzu. The incitement of defection by a samurai lord at Sekigahara in 1600 was equally skilled, but so to was the luring of the Germans onto thick Soviet defensive belts at Kursk in 1943, or the use of disinformation in order to pin the North Korean army in place, when General MacArthur's amphibious force landed hundreds of miles up the Korean peninsula at Inchon in 1950.

In all these cases, a general made the most of whatever advantage he could, be it troop quality, the terrain or even his ability to subvert the enemy. This has been the case over 2,500 years of recorded warfare, and probably for much longer than that. So, by studying the campaigns of Alexander, Hannibal or Caesar, other military commanders can avoid having to reinvent the wheel. Instead they can build on the lessons provided by history, and adapt these age-old stratagems to suit the needs of their own era. No doubt the list of battles that share common traits will stretch well into the future, as even in our modern, conflict-wracked world, the lessons they contain are as relevant today as they ever were.


ANGUS KONSTAM

100 GREATEST BATTLES

100 GREATEST BATTLES BY ANGUS KONSTAM IS PUBLISHED BY OSPREY PUBLISHING

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TYCHO BRAHE: THE *Radical* ASTRONOMER

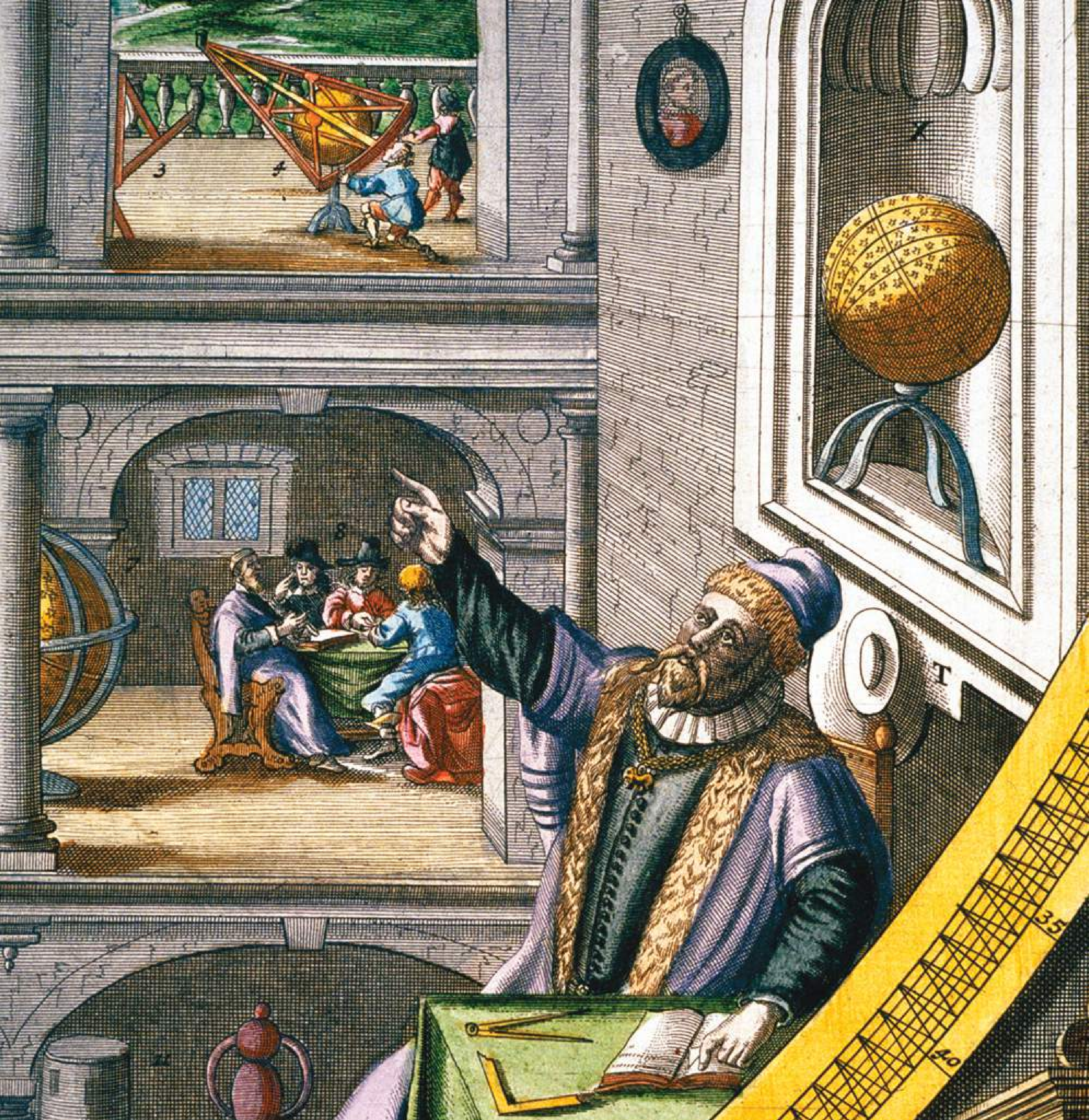
Discover the life of the Danish nobleman who was led astray by the stars

Written by Emily Staniforth

Exploring the heavens has been a pursuit of humankind since the first person looked up to the sky and saw the strange twinkling lights we now know to be the stars and the planets. In 16th century Europe, men of science had started trying to piece together the workings of the universe based on the works of those who had gone before and their own new pioneering theories. Tycho Brahe, an astronomer and nobleman at the court of King Frederick II, was a passionate pupil of the sky and, with his own eyes, forged theories on the workings of the universe. Never one to conform to what was expected of him, Brahe lived a remarkable life and left a lasting legacy in the study of the skies.

Born into a wealthy and prominent Danish noble family in 1546, Tycho Brahe was raised by his childless aunt and uncle, away from his immediate family, as his uncle's sole heir. "Tycho was steered by his uncle towards a different kind of aristocratic role, that of the well-educated nobleman who might serve his monarch as a diplomat, advisor, and administrator," says Adam Mosley, an associate professor of history at Swansea University. Rather than be apprenticed to a page at court, like many young noblemen at the time were, Brahe attended university in Copenhagen where, upon his uncle's advice, he studied arts subjects with the intention of becoming a lawyer. However, the legal life was not to be for young Brahe, who soon found his attention drifting in another direction.

While at Copenhagen, Brahe "had the misfortune of seeing a solar eclipse," explains John Robert Christianson, a professor emeritus of history at Luther College. "This was unfortunate because it changed his whole course of life. He became ▶



EXPERT BIOS

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JOHN ROBERT CHRISTIANSON

John Robert Christianson is Professor Emeritus of History at Luther College, Decorah, Iowa. He is the author of *On Tycho's Island* (Cambridge University Press, 2000) and *Tycho Brahe And The Measure Of The Heavens* (Reaktion Books, 2020).

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DR ADAM MOSLEY

Dr Adam Mosley is an Associate Professor of History at Swansea University. He is the author of *Bearing The Heavens: Tycho Brahe And The Astronomical Community Of The Late Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 2007).

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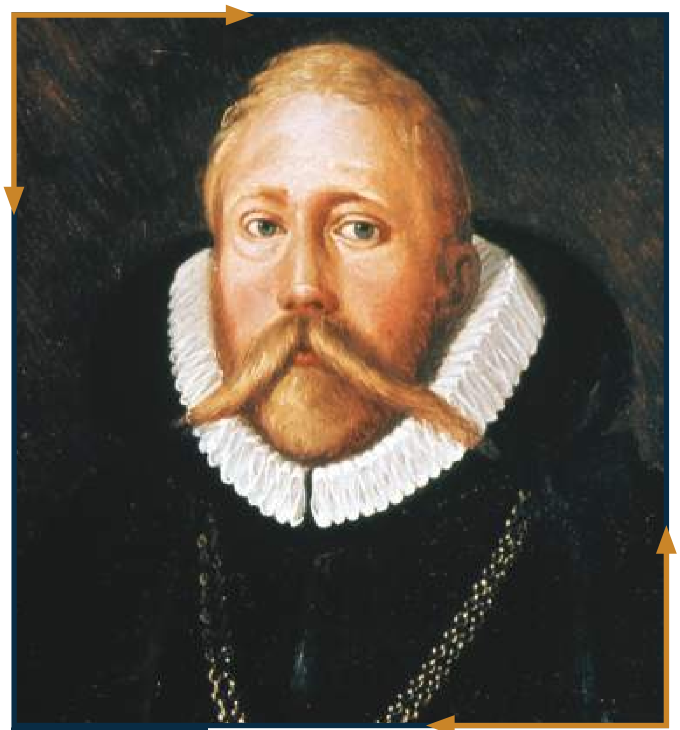
obsessed with observing the stars." Witnessing the eclipse of August 1560 had affected Brahe in such a profound way that he decided to dedicate his life and career to discovering more about the heavens, eschewing the expectations of his family in order to pursue his newly discovered passion. But Brahe had to learn more about astronomy in an unconventional manner. His tutor would not entertain Brahe's ambitions to study astronomy and so he was not permitted to take any courses on the subject.

"He had to do it on his own and when you're self taught, you learn things in a different way than if you do it in academic circles," explains Christianson. "You don't know the parameters of the field or the boundaries. You don't know what you should learn and what you don't need to learn. If he had studied university astronomy, he would have learned there was no point in observing. The Greeks had done that and it was all in tables. All you had to do was look up the positions you needed in the tables - there was no need to stand out in the cold at night. [Brahe] didn't know that. He thought observing was an important part of astronomy."

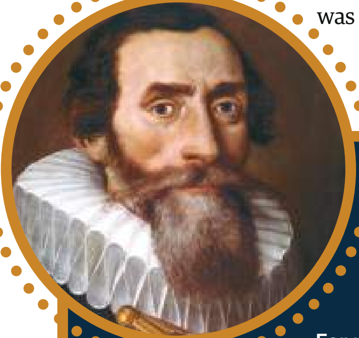
Though many astronomers at this time did believe that there was no need to observe the sky's phenomena for themselves, it worked to Brahe's advantage that he was not taught this. In 1563, while in Leipzig on an academic tour, Tycho Brahe observed a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn for himself, and by doing so was able to notice that neither of the planetary tables he had access to had predicted the event correctly. He was assured that observation was key to understanding astronomical events and, shortly after this revelation, he informed his family that he intended to abandon his legal studies to be an astronomer.


ABOVE A portrait of Tycho Brahe

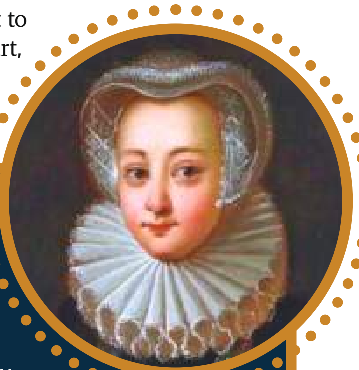
For the next few years, Brahe travelled Europe acquiring skills, knowledge and equipment to help him in his observations. It was during this time, in 1566 at the University of Rostock, that Brahe became involved in a drunken argument with a distant cousin of his who was also a fellow student. The dispute, the cause of which remains unknown, was settled in a duel in which Brahe suffered a humiliating blow when the bridge of his nose was cut off. "It's the least desirable duelling scar. A duelling scar is a mark of aristocratic courage, but that's if you have a little line on your cheek or a little scratch on your forehead," says Christianson. "Having half of your nose whacked off is not very appealing, so he had to wear a prosthesis his whole life long. That was a source of ridicule on the part of his astronomical opponents." The prosthesis worn by Brahe was originally believed to have been silver, although recent analysis shows it to have been made from brass.

Back in Denmark, Brahe's astronomical ambitions were being realised as he wrote and lectured about the observations he had been making in the observatory he built. In this observatory he also pursued his interest in alchemy, a discipline which, in the 16th century, intertwined with the studies of astronomy and astrology. In November 1572, from his observatory Brahe saw a new star in the constellation Cassiopeia. The publication of his discovery of the star, which was actually a supernova, proved that the universe was not in a fixed state and could be ever-changing. This possibility not only questioned previous Aristotelian theories of how stars and planets existed, but also gave credence to Brahe's belief in observation as a useful and powerful tool.

With Brahe becoming increasingly successful, and possibly because of his desire to move away from the obligations and expectations of the Danish court, he was presented with a gift from Frederick II in 1576 that would cement his status in Denmark and elsewhere in Europe, and also keep him in the country. "Upon learning that Brahe intended to leave Denmark in order to pursue his interests in studying the universe, King Frederick granted him the island of Hven, and helped finance the building of his observatory there," explains Mosley. "Tycho served as a kind of consultant to the royal court,



Tycho's Assistants



For much of his career, Tycho Brahe had a team of fellow astronomers and students to help in his observations and research. Of these assistants, the one that history remembers is Johannes Kepler – the man who would succeed Brahe as Rudolf II's Imperial Mathematician and would become a prominent name in the field of astronomy. The pair's relationship was filled with tension, but Brahe kept him in his team because he had been impressed with the work Kepler had sent to him, even though it propounded the Copernican systems of the universe. According to Christianson, after Brahe's death it was Kepler, along with Brahe's son-in-law, who worked to edit his posthumous works.

Of Brahe's other assistants, of which there may have been as many as a hundred, were several female scholars. "[Brahe] had a great admiration for the scientific abilities of women. He wrote about that, writing primarily about his own sister who was his first assistant in observation," says Christianson. Sophia Brahe was around ten years younger than her brother and shared his passion for the sciences. She visited Uraniborg on several occasions from the age of 17 and reportedly was a self-taught astronomer, much like her brother. She was also a chemist and horticulturist, and helped her brother with his observations of eclipses and comets.

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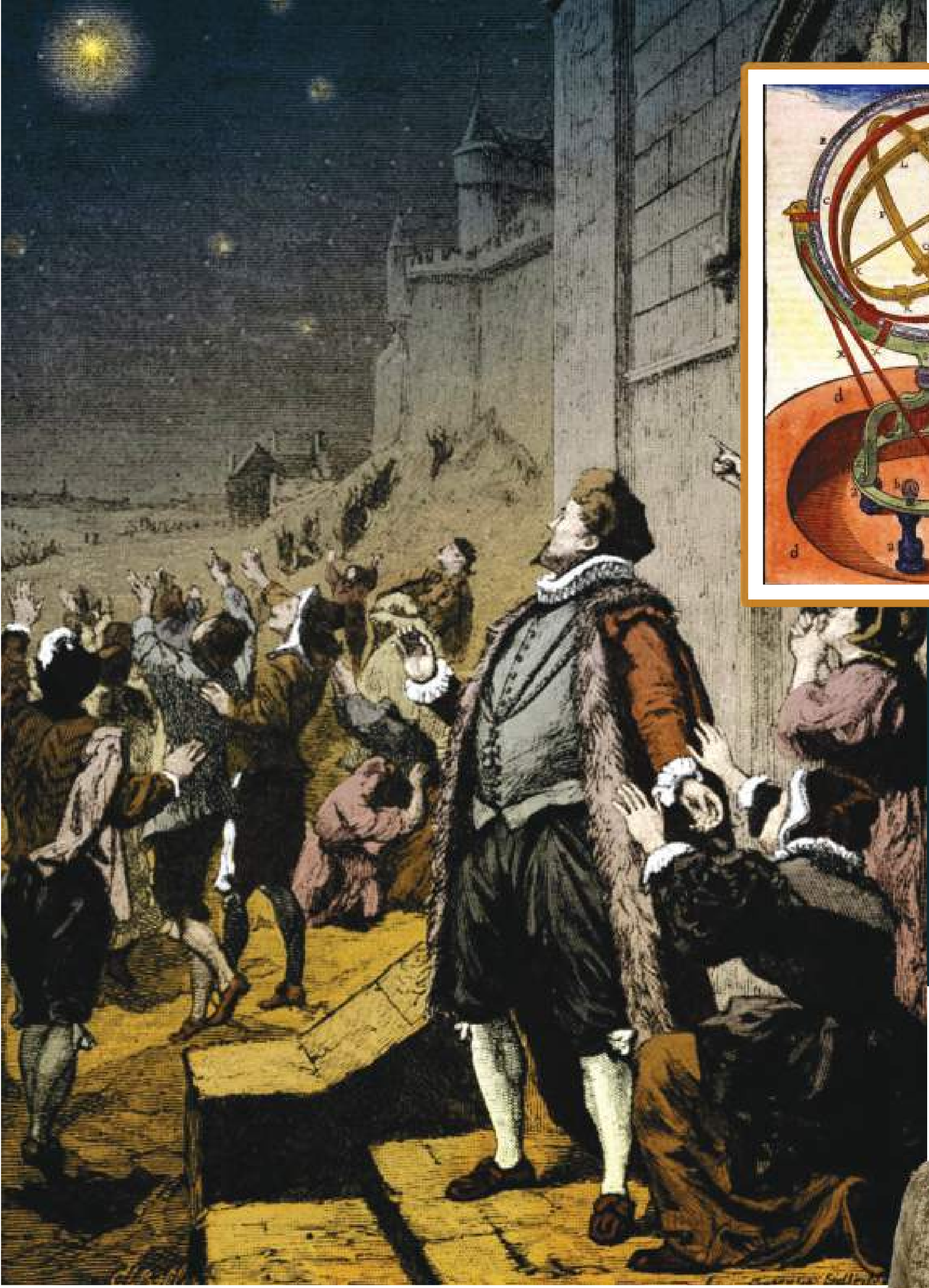
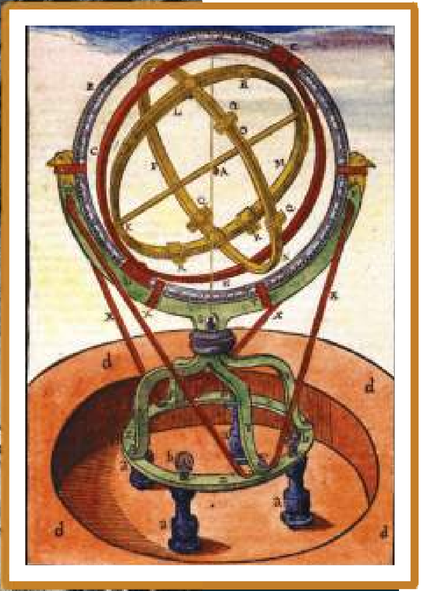
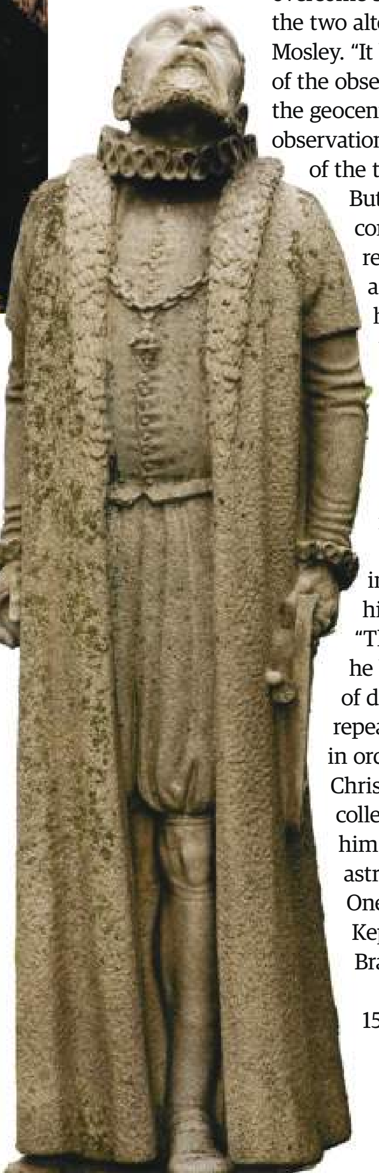




ABOVE An illustration of an armillary sphere from Tycho Brahe's 1598 work *Astronomiae instauratae Mechanica*

LEFT In 1572, a new star was observed in the Cassiopeia constellation, which Brahe recorded

BELOW This statue on Hven shows Brahe looking up to the heavens



> "HE DECIDED TO DEDICATE HIS LIFE AND CAREER TO DISCOVERING MORE ABOUT THE HEAVENS"

commenting on and explaining unusual natural phenomena, such as the great comet of 1577, and he produced horoscopes for the royal family."

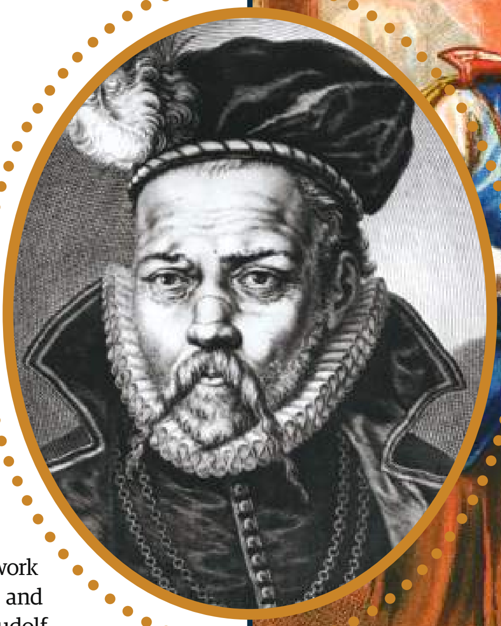
His expertise in astrology saw him prepare annual almanacs for the king in which he would predict the events of the coming year. Brahe's horoscopes were highly valued by the royal family, so much so that the king's oldest son, the future King Christian IV, slept with the horoscope Brahe had prepared for him under his pillow for the entirety of his life.

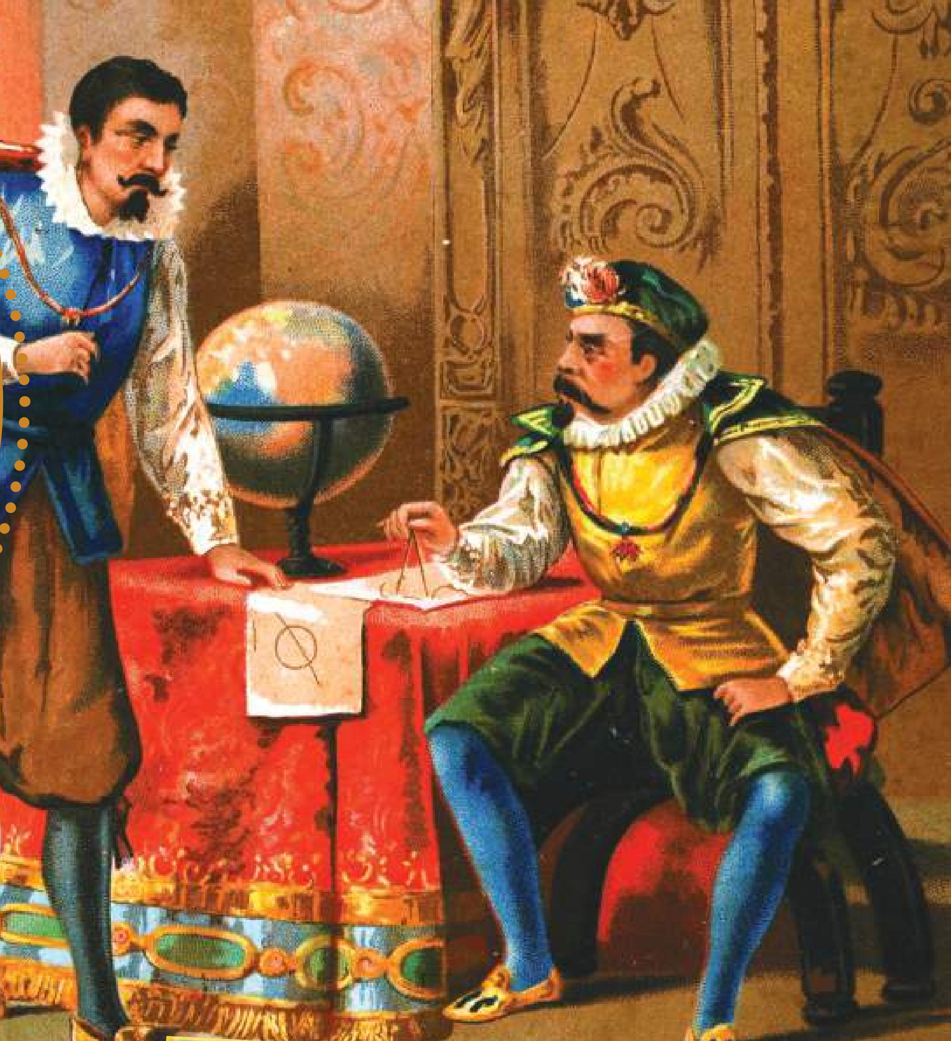
On the island of Hven, Brahe's scientific sanctuary was built and named Uraniborg. "You can still look out the window of the king's apartment at Kronborg Castle and you're looking right at that island," says Christianson. "That was how the king chose that island. He gave it to Tycho Brahe and said: 'I want you to continue to pursue your studies, because you will bring fame to the Kingdom of Denmark. I want you to do it on that island within sight of the new castle that I'm building here. That will be the showplace of the realm and I want your little island to be part of that showplace.' When monarchs built palaces at that time, you had to have a chamber of wonders – a display of marvellous things that are exemplars of your royal power, and King Frederick II wanted Tycho Brahe to build that little island of wonders." The elaborate Renaissance villa on Hven had towers on the outer sides, which were part of his observatory and housed his large instruments. Panels in the roofs of these towers could be removed to reveal the sky to those inside.

At Uraniborg, Brahe carried out his observations for around 20 years. He made a variety of new instruments to help him in his work, ran his own printing press and educated and trained upcoming astronomers from around Europe. Of Brahe's theories, his proposed system for the working of the universe is likely his most famous. Rather than ascribing to Ptolemy's geocentric model, which stated that the Earth was at the centre of the universe, or Nicolaus Copernicus' heliocentric system, which proposed that the planets moved around the central Sun, Brahe proposed that the universe was geoheliocentric. "In Tycho Brahe's geoheliocentric system, the planets moved around the Sun, and the stars, Sun, and Moon moved around the Earth, with the Earth at the centre of the universe. This geoheliocentric system was thought by Tycho Brahe, and by some astronomers and philosophers in the 17th century, to overcome some of the problems with the two alternative systems," explains Mosley. "It better accommodated some of the observations of the heavens than the geocentric system, particularly some observations that were made with the aid of the telescope after Brahe's death. But it also avoided the apparent contradiction between the Bible's references to a fixed earth and the moving Earth of the heliocentric theory, as well as the conflict between common-sense experience and the Copernican theory: the fact that people don't perceive any motion of the Earth when it is supposedly rotating as well as moving around the Sun."

The other of Brahe's most impressive accomplishments was his use of statistical information. "This was his great contribution – he basically invented the concept of data. He was the first person to repeat an observation or experiment in order to verify it," states Christianson. The vast body of data collected by Brahe not only helped him in his work, but also served the astronomers who followed him. One man in particular, Johannes Kepler, would greatly benefit from Brahe's data.

After Frederick II's death in 1588, Brahe's circumstances ▶





changed under the rule of Christian IV. As the new king made his mark in Denmark, Brahe's relationship with the monarchy deteriorated and he began to look for an alternative patron. In a bold move he settled on the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II. "Tycho dedicated a work describing Uraniborg and his instruments to Rudolf, making it into a valuable gift to the emperor; he appealed to Rudolf's interest not only in astronomy and astrology, but also alchemy and mechanical devices; and he also had friends at the Imperial court and other high-status individuals lobby on his behalf. By the time he reached Prague, and was able to present his printed instrument-book and other products of his work to the emperor in person, his appointment as Imperial Mathematician (or Astronomer) was effectively secured," says Mosley.

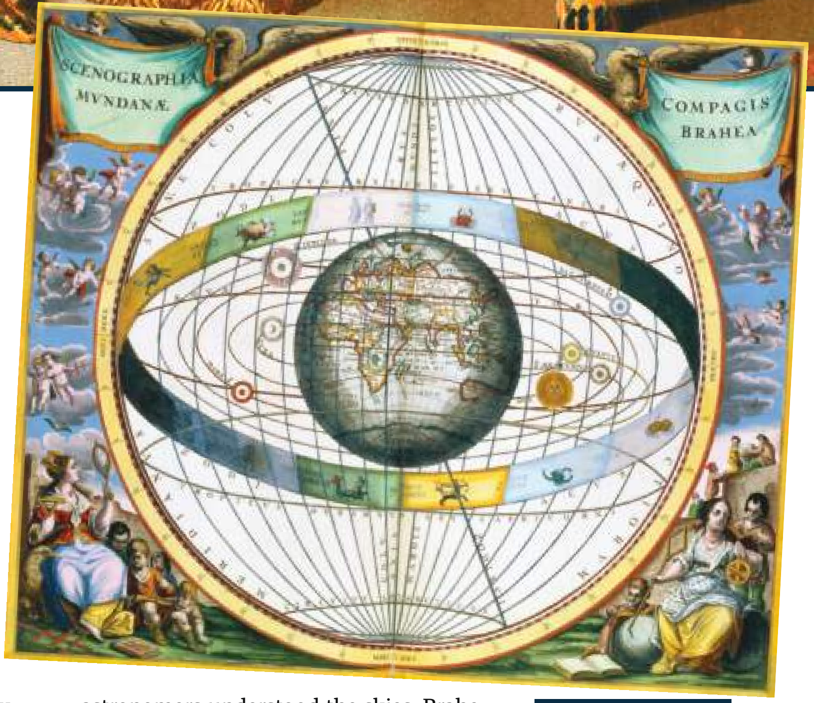
> "THIS WAS HIS GREAT CONTRIBUTION – HE BASICALLY INVENTED THE CONCEPT OF DATA"

In Prague, Brahe worked with the German scholar Johannes Kepler, who would go on to become one of the most important figures in the Scientific Revolution of the 17th century. Their relationship was often a fraught one, with Kepler wanting to use Brahe's data to support Copernicus' theory of heliocentrism, rather than help Brahe refine his own model of the universe. However, the two men continued to collaborate despite their differences and after Brahe's death, Kepler succeeded him as the Imperial Mathematician.

Brahe's sudden death in 1601 appeared to have been caused by a bladder infection of some kind, possibly uremia, which made him ill at a banquet. However, in 1901, Brahe's body was exhumed and researchers found traces of mercury in his body. This discovery gave rise to wild theories that he had, in fact, been poisoned – some suggestions claimed the poisoner may even have been Kepler. A second exhumation in 2010 (which also established that Brahe's prosthesis was made from brass) confirmed through chemical analysis that it had been a bladder malfunction that had killed the astronomer and ended the conspiracy theories of murder.

After his death, the body of data that Brahe had accumulated during his lifetime proved to be particularly valuable, both intellectually, and importantly for his children, financially. "The emperor offered to buy all of Brahe's instruments and his data, but he was short on cash and so he made a down payment. For the rest of the lives of Brahe's children he continued, annually, to pay them the amount of the purchase," says Christianson. As the succeeding Imperial Mathematician, Kepler used the data purchased by the emperor to further his own career and make a name for himself.

Seven years after Tycho Brahe's death an invention in the Netherlands, called a telescope, changed the way mankind was able to view the workings of the universe forever. In his own observations, the accuracy and impact of which shifted the way his contemporaries and subsequent astronomers understood the skies, Brahe relied solely upon the naked eye. This fact alone is remarkable given his outstanding contribution to science. But Tycho Brahe is arguably even more incredible for his decision to dedicate his life to a discipline based on one experience of watching the Moon pass between the Sun and the Earth. Christianson states: "Out of an elite background comes a person who deviates from the path he should have taken – who's led astray by the stars themselves, and becomes an astronomer."



TOP-INSET In this depiction of Tycho Brahe from c.1600 his nose prosthesis is clearly visible

TOP Tycho Brahe consulting with his assistant Johannes Kepler

ABOVE A map showing Brahe's geoheliocentric system of the universe

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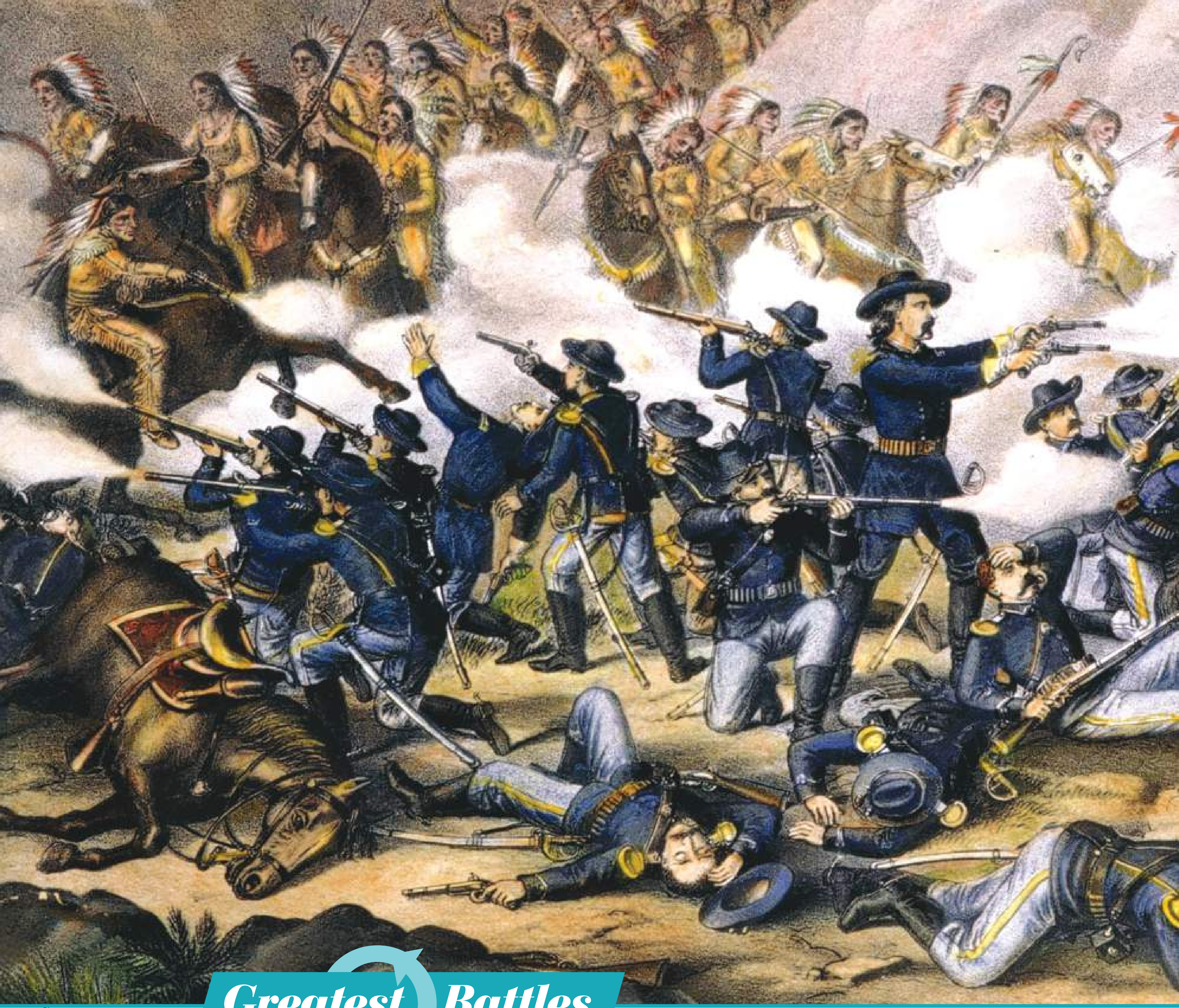


Greatest Battles

BATTLE OF THE LITTLE BIGHORN

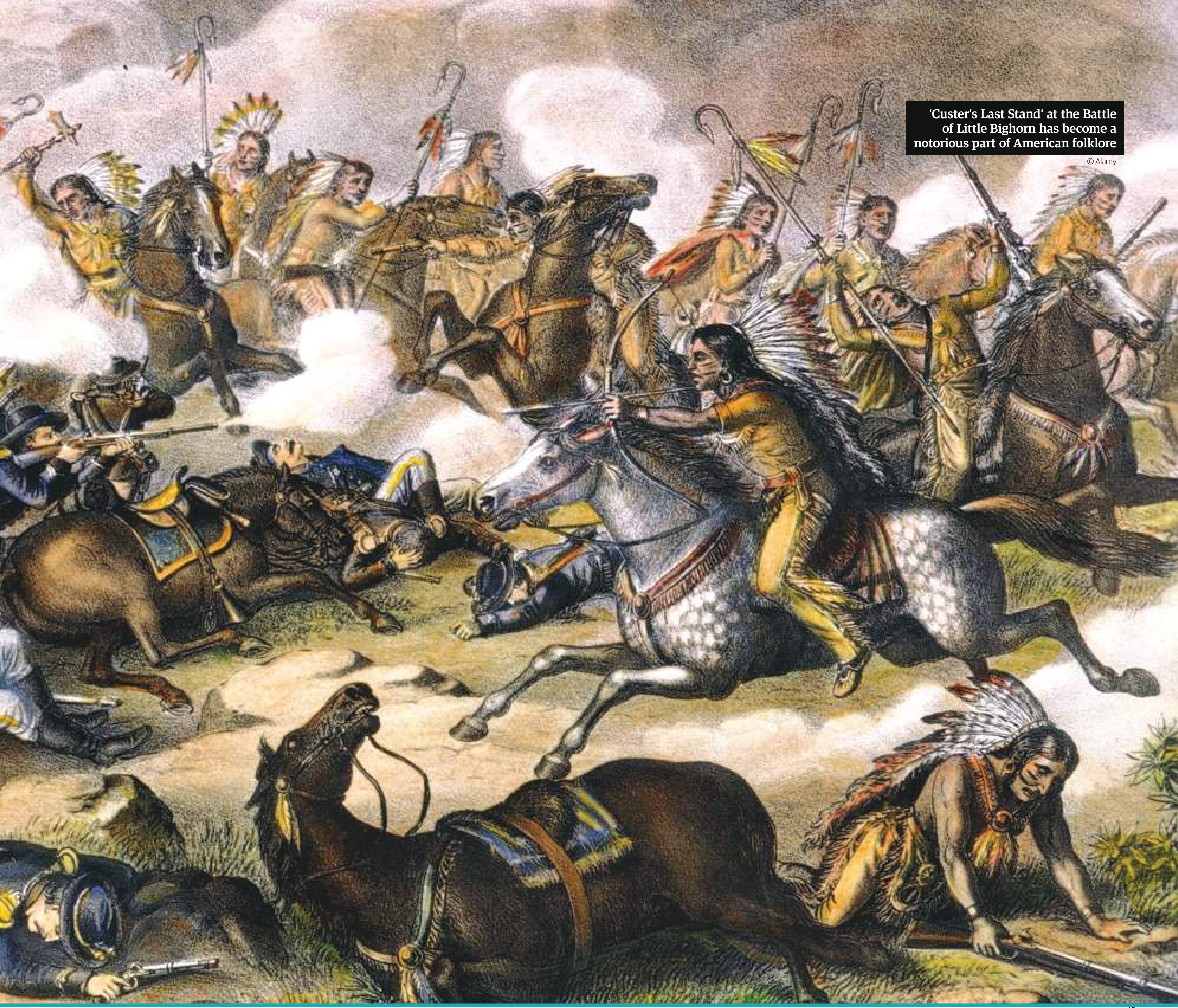
LITTLE BIGHORN RIVER, MONTANA, USA, 25 JUNE 1876

Written by Hareth Al Bustani

In 1876, after violating an earlier peace treaty with the Plains Indians, the United States Army sent a force to the Midwest to conquer the increasing number of nomadic natives who did not want to live on designated reservations.

The ensuing conflict culminated in the Battle of Little Bighorn, where the US soldiers, under the leadership of Civil War veteran General George Armstrong Custer, were overwhelmed and killed down to the last man. A spectacular loss for the US Army and a stunning win for the combined Lakota Sioux, Northern Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes, the battle remains one of the most significant events of the wider Sioux Wars.

The battle was part of an ongoing series of hostilities triggered by relentless white American expansion westwards through indigenous ancestral



'Custer's Last Stand' at the Battle of Little Bighorn has become a notorious part of American folklore

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lands. With most Native Americans either dead or forced onto reservations, after centuries of abuse the Great Plains Indians were the last remaining nomadic communities left.

However, their victory at Little Bighorn proved a double-edged sword: the decisive win over Custer's men only strengthened the United States' resolve. Utilising their greater resources, within a year the US Army would force the remaining Native Americans to surrender, taking the Black Hills by force and without any compensation.

FROM CIVIL WAR TO CONQUEST OF THE WEST

When the American Civil War broke out in 1861, white settler expansion to the west ground to a halt, allowing the Great Plains Indians a period of reprieve. By this point, through warfare and over-hunting, white settlers had either killed off most natives or forced them to abandon their nomadic lifestyles for life on the reservations. The one last bastion of freedom spanned the Northern Great Plains of Dakota and Wyoming, where the Sioux and Cheyenne tribes had been forced by western expansion, in turn displacing the local Crow tribes.

During the Civil War a gold rush broke out in Montana, leading to the development of a trail straight through the Sioux hunting grounds. By 1866, the US Army had erected three forts in the region, sparking a war with a confederation of warrior bands led by the charismatic Oglala Sioux chief, Red Cloud. Assisted by other leaders such as Crazy Horse and Rain in the Face, Red Cloud emerged victorious; he negotiated a peace treaty that awarded the Sioux and Cheyenne the western half of modern South Dakota as a permanent reservation, stretching all the way to the Bighorn Mountains of Wyoming. While half of these tribes settled in reservations, drawing rations from 'Agencies' along the river, the rest remained traditional nomads – hunting and roaming across the 'Unceded Territory', where the last of the North American buffalo herds grazed.

After Red Cloud's retirement to reservation life, the 'non-treaty' native peoples turned to the medicine man Sitting Bull – a spiritual leader who insisted on maintaining ancient traditions and customs. Backed by Crazy Horse – a famous warrior still in his 20s – and several other leaders, as white settlers continued to stretch their railroads further west Sitting Bull encouraged increasing numbers of Native Americans to leave the reservations.

In 1874, just six years after the peace treaty, the US Army sent the 7th US Cavalry Regiment under the leadership of Custer to South Dakota's Black Hills in the heart of the Native American lands. A veteran of the Civil War, Custer had proved himself a reckless yet fearless and capable soldier, becoming the youngest ever major-general in US history.

Notoriously unpredictable, in 1867 Custer had taken part in a campaign against the Southern Cheyenne, after which he was court-martialed for absenting himself from command and shooting deserters. The next year he took part in another campaign against the Cheyenne, where at the 'Battle' of the Washita he slaughtered 103 people in a reservation village of Southern Cheyenne.

During Custer's 1874 expedition into the Black Hills, prospectors discovered gold, sparking another influx of white miners and entrepreneurs. Rather than quelling the tide of settlers, the United States offered to buy the Black Hills, but the Lakota Sioux refused. Desperate to crush the independent Plains Indians once and for all, in the winter of 1875 the Commissioner of Indian affairs demanded all Sioux report to a reservation by the end of January or be declared 'hostile'.

Having stocked up on arms and ammunition, as Agency corruption sparked off a famine, increasing numbers of Native Americans left the reservations to join Sitting Bull's movement. Violating the existing treaty, General Philip Sheridan, commander of the Military Division of the Missouri, dispatched thousands of soldiers to engage the Sioux and Cheyenne and force them from the Big Horn Valley into the Great Sioux Reservation.

In March 1876 Colonel John Gibbon left Montana with 450 men, followed by General George Crook, who left Wyoming Territory with 1,000 cavalry in May. General Alfred Terry marched out of Dakota Territory with 879 men – mostly comprised of Lieutenant Colonel Custer's 7th Cavalry. Sheridan hoped any of these three armies could put down what he expected would be a maximum of 1,500 enemy warriors. With the nomadic Lakota Sioux and Cheyenne always moving around, pinning them down with one large force would be extremely challenging, even with the assistance of Native American auxiliaries.

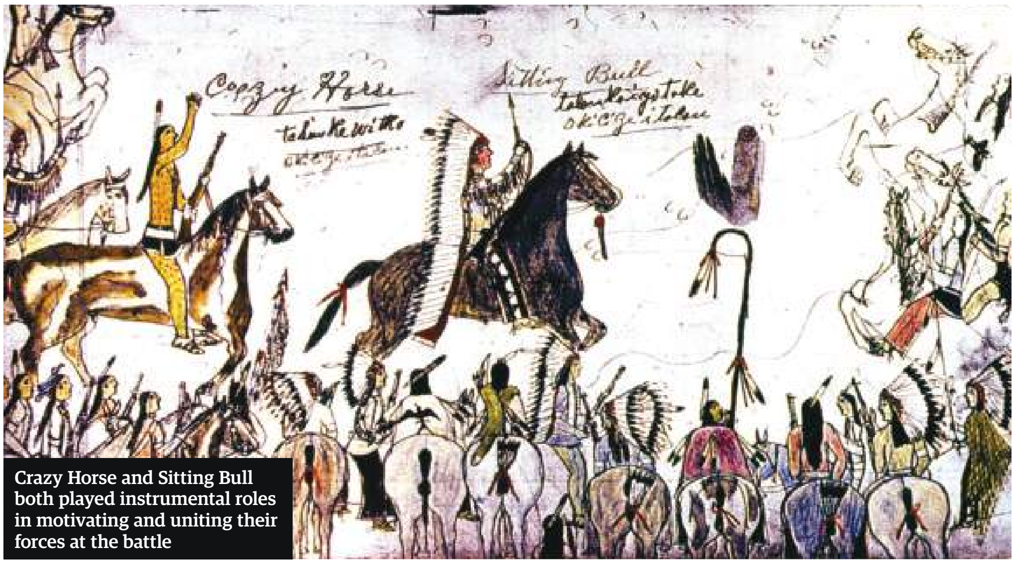
Because the tribes were particularly mobile in summer, winter campaigns had always proved most effective. However, while Sheridan had hoped the three columns would converge on the camp from three directions, only Crook's was ready in time for the winter. Travelling through sub-zero temperatures with more than 300 soldiers, within ten days he encountered 250 warriors at the Powder River Valley. Despite outnumbering the enemy, after losing four soldiers, with six wounded and one abandoned, he was forced to withdraw – a setback from which it would take months to recover. He had also squandered the element of surprise: now the Native Americans knew the US Army was coming.

THE TRIBES GATHER

According to an eyewitness – an Oglala Sioux warrior named He Dog – everyone who saw the Native American encampment proclaimed it was the largest they had ever seen. The Cheyenne were stationed at the north, downriver end, near the broad ford where two water bodies emptied into the Little Bighorn River. At the opposite end were the Hunkpapa Sioux, with the Sans Arc, Brulé, Minneconjou, Santee and Oglala in between. The Oglala may have been the largest group, followed by the Hunkpapa, with a total of up to 7,000 fighting-age boys and men in all.

On 17 June, while resting with more than 1,000 men, Crook was ambushed by hundreds of warriors under Crazy Horse and once again forced into a retreat, taking his forces out of the action.

Five days later, unaware of Crook's defeat, Terry sent Custer and his 7th Cavalry to perform a wide flanking manoeuvre and attack the Native Americans from the east and south. The plan was to prevent them from being able to disperse into the wilderness, while Terry and Gibbon's infantry and cavalry hit from the north.



Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull both played instrumental roles in motivating and uniting their forces at the battle

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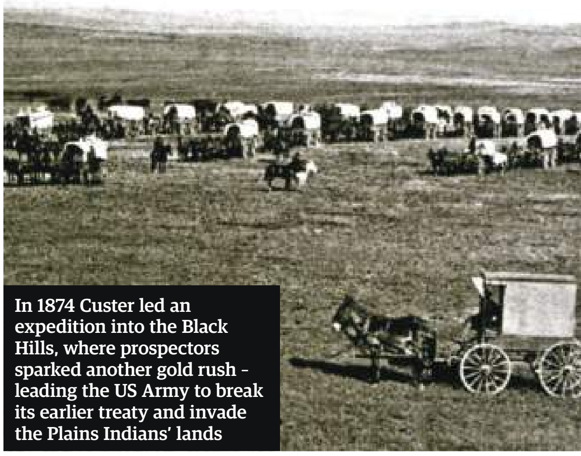


In 1874 Custer led an expedition into the Black Hills, where prospectors sparked another gold rush – leading the US Army to break its earlier treaty and invade the Plains Indians' lands

On 25 June, when his Crow and Arikara scouts spotted traces of the enemy encampment near the Little Bighorn River, Custer initially wanted to launch a surprise attack. When the scouts indicated their presence had already been spotted by enemy warriors, he decided to attack immediately. At Wolf Mountain, he split his forces into four, retaining 210 men while sending 125 with Captain Frederick Benteen, 140 with Major Marcus Reno and the rest guarding the slow-moving pack train of supplies.

Soon, reports came in that US soldiers had killed a native boy just over 3km away, and a woman even closer. While Benteen was sent southwest to scout the bluffs to the left of the main enemy encampment, Custer and Reno pressed on. At 2pm, after spotting some Lakota warriors, Custer sent Reno to chase after them. Reno forded a river 3km south of the village, and launched a surprise attack on a group of advancing warriors. The Hunkpapa first raised the alarm when a group of Arikara Indians working for the US Army darted towards their animals grazing in a nearby ravine.

Despite attacking first, Reno was soon outnumbered by the swelling numbers of Native American defenders. Overwhelmed, he had his men dismount and form a skirmish line, but they were outflanked on the left by a group of mounted warriors and chased into some timber by the river. With that, the legendary Crazy Horse raced defiantly alongside the US soldiers, intentionally drawing their fire – an act known as a 'brave run'.

Under relentless attack, Reno became desperate, darting back towards the river, and crossing over again – some of his men drowning in the process. Reno's men fled into some bluffs to the east. Comparing the pursuit to a buffalo hunt, the Native Americans kept clawing away at Reno's rear, shooting at close range and ripping men from their saddles. By 4pm, as Reno's exhausted battalion scaled the bluffs, out of ammunition and on the brink of collapse, Benteen's forces returned with supplies and a message from Custer: "Come on. Big Village. Be Quick. Bring Packs. P.S. Bring Packs."

At this time the Native Americans began to break away, heading further north to Custer's location. With distant gunshots crackling downstream, Reno

and Benteen dragged their wounded up to Weir Point and looked out over the valley below that was filled with dust and gun smoke. From there they were chased up Reno Hill, where the Native Americans kept them under siege.

As badly as Reno's men had suffered, Custer was in far deeper trouble. After heading north along Medicine Tail Coulee ravine, two companies of his men were attacked at Medicine Tail ford. As they readied themselves for a desperate stand on Calhoun Hill, Custer scrambled north along the spine of what's now called Custer Ridge.

With Reno heading into the hills, Crazy Horse had already returned to the centre of the camp, crossed a ravine and up a gulch towards Calhoun Hill, his movement obscured by the landscape. Once he arrived, he began unleashing shots as fast as he could load his gun. As the air filled with powder smoke, the two sides kept low, popping out from their rocky cover to shoot. This was guerrilla warfare, an art in which the Native warriors were experts. They flattened their feathers to conceal their movements and the US soldiers followed suit, taking off their caps. Like Crazy Horse, Chiefs Lame White Man and Two Moons snuck up from the ridges and ravines across the field to unleash arrows in great arches like mortar fire, without exposing their positions.

As Custer's men tried to establish a rhythm, Crazy Horse suddenly roared out on horseback, blowing on his eagle bone whistle and riding haphazardly between the two opposing lines of soldiers. The US soldiers desperately unleashed a volley of shots at him, playing straight into Crazy Horse's hands. When they stopped to reload, the Native Americans charged in all at once – clubbing and stabbing them to death. War Chief Gall of the Uncpapa Sioux led a mounted charge, shattering the battle line.

Those who were not killed immediately darted for the high ground further north, grabbing horses if they could or else sprinting under a hail of bullets. As they scrambled along the ridge towards Custer's command the soldiers made "five different stands" lasting around ten minutes, according to Minneconjou warrior Red Horse. The

US ARMY

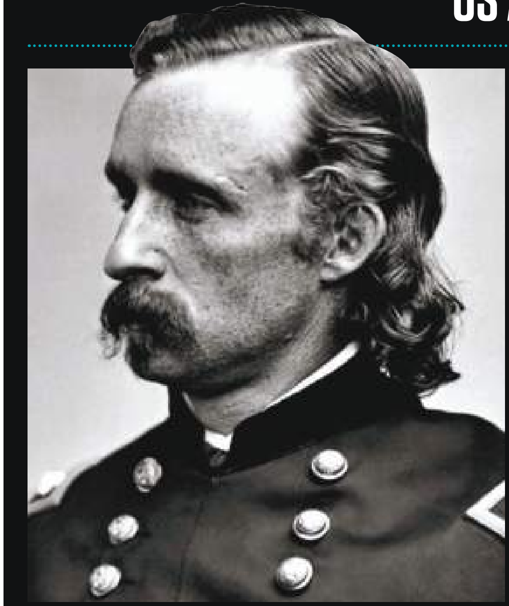


Image source: wiki/Denver Library Digital Collections

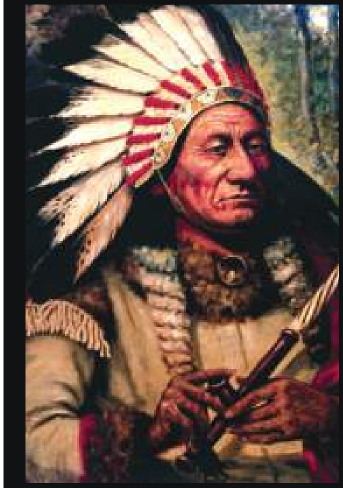
GEORGE ARMSTRONG CUSTER

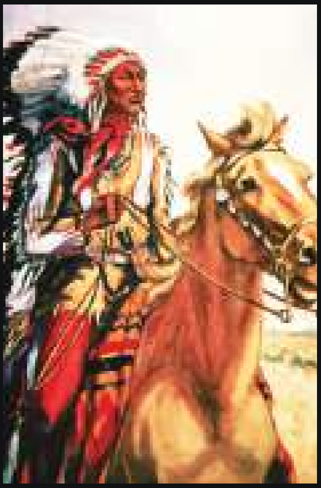
An officer in the US Army and cavalry commander during the Civil War, Custer is most famous for his 'Last Stand' at Little Bighorn. He graduated West Point in 1861 at the bottom of his class, but worked under George B McClellan and Alfred Pleasonton, seemingly showing greater ability in the field. However, many have criticised his decision-making in the events leading to his death.

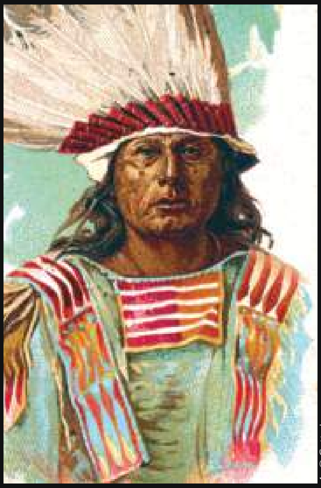
MARCUS RENO

The decision of Reno to hold his troops about 6.4km away from the battlefield in a defensive position rather than support Custer has remained a point of great contention in the long career of the military officer. He served in the Civil War at the Battle of Antietam and Williamsport, among other key encounters. He was acquitted of any wrongdoing at Little Bighorn at a 1879 court of inquiry.

GREAT PLAINS INDIANS







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SITTING BULL

A leader of the Hunkpapa Lakota people, Sitting Bull is said to have had a vision prior to the battle that foresaw a great victory for his people over a massive army. Following his surrender in 1881, he went on to work in Buffalo Bill's travelling Wild West show. However, fearing he would support the Ghost Dance movement, government officials attempted to arrest him in 1890, killing him when they met resistance.

CRAZY HORSE

The Lakota war leader of the Oglala band fought in the Black Hills Wars, the Great Sioux War and the Last Sun Dance. At Little Bighorn he led one of the war parties that achieved victory over American forces. He surrendered in the spring of 1877 and went to live near the Red Cloud Agency, only to be killed in an attempted arrest for allegedly making threats on the life of General George Crook.

GALL

Already a warrior in his late teens and a war chief in his twenties, Gall was a leader of the Hunkpapa Lakota serving with Sitting Bull in a number of battles, including Little Bighorn. His two wives and several children were killed in the initial American attack on his village. He moved to Canada after the conflict, but returned in 1881 and became a farmer for his remaining days.

battle descended into a running firefight, with the survivors of each engagement darting back towards Custer's command. It grew increasingly brutal as the Native Americans set upon the US soldiers with fists, knives and clubs.

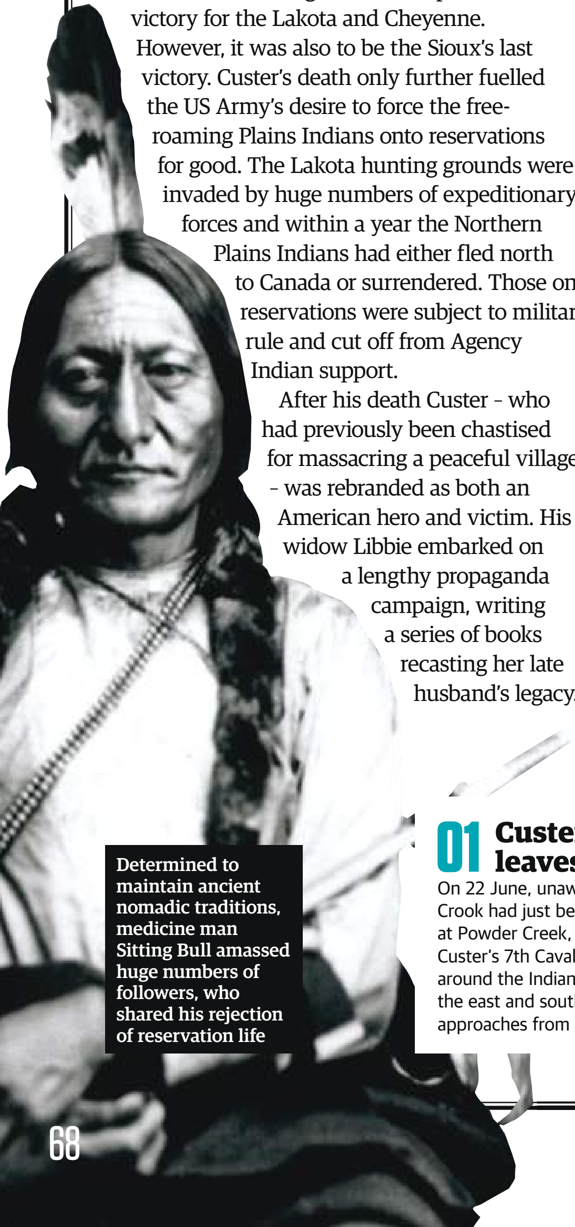
The battlefield was turning into a nightmare. One of Custer's men was seen mounting a horse and fleeing into the distance, before shooting himself in the head. Others dropped their weapons in surrender. The enemy pressed on towards Custer's position from all directions. After picking apart the last 40 dust-covered, limping soldiers, the warriors flocked to the hill, killing off those gasping for breath and stripping them of their clothes and guns.

Reno and Benteen remained under siege until sunset the following day, when the Native Americans finally broke off and headed into the Big Horn Mountains. On 27 June, scouts from the Terry-Gibbon column arrived from the north and stumbled across the bodies of his men. Many were naked and some had been mutilated. While Custer's corpse was unmolested, his 31-year-old brother Tom was only recognisable from a 'TWC' tattoo on his right arm.

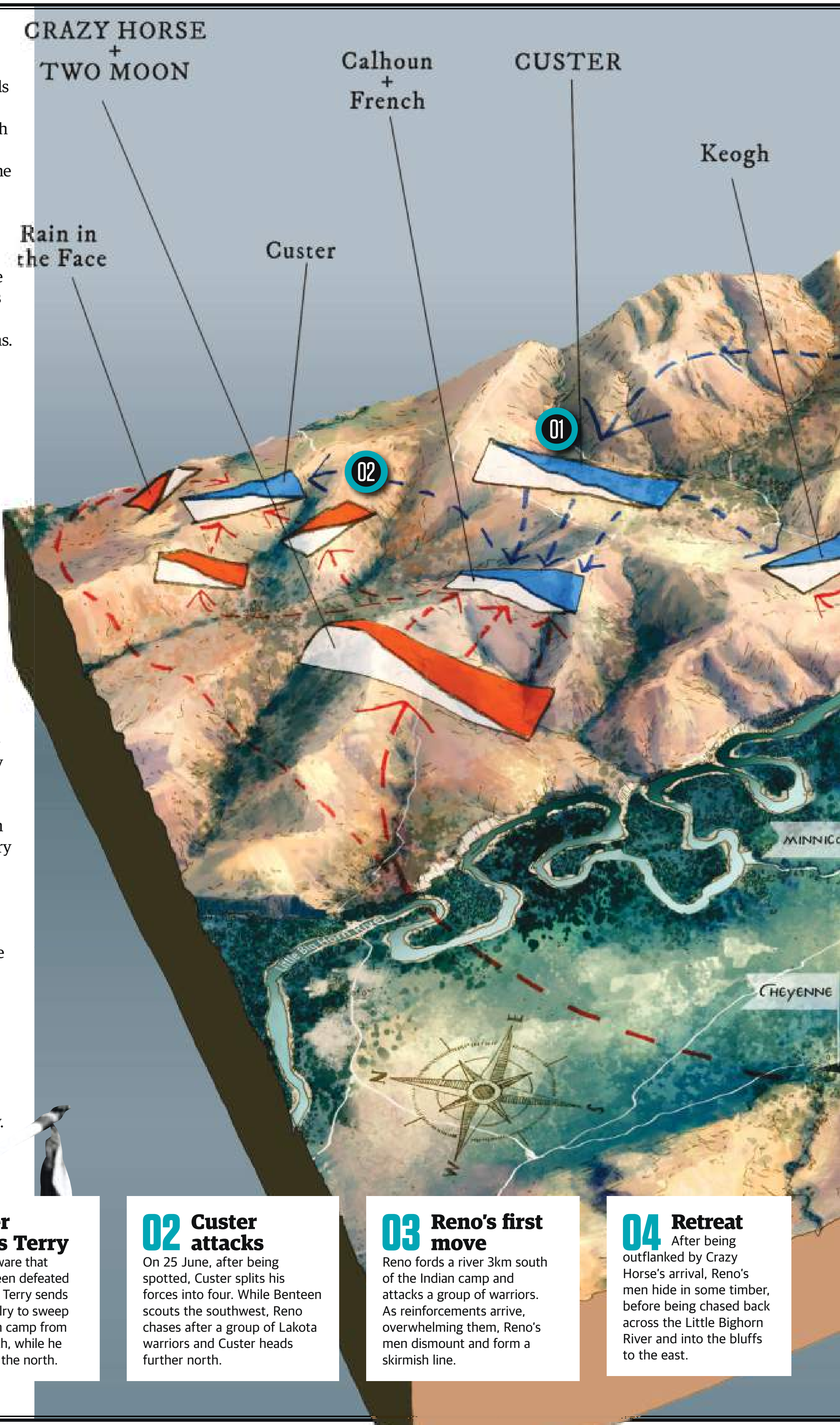
AFTERMATH

The Battle of Little Bighorn was a spectacular victory for the Lakota and Cheyenne. However, it was also to be the Sioux's last victory. Custer's death only further fuelled the US Army's desire to force the free-roaming Plains Indians onto reservations for good. The Lakota hunting grounds were invaded by huge numbers of expeditionary forces and within a year the Northern Plains Indians had either fled north to Canada or surrendered. Those on reservations were subject to military rule and cut off from Agency Indian support.

After his death Custer – who had previously been chastised for massacring a peaceful village – was rebranded as both an American hero and victim. His widow Libbie embarked on a lengthy propaganda campaign, writing a series of books recasting her late husband's legacy.



Determined to maintain ancient nomadic traditions, medicine man Sitting Bull amassed huge numbers of followers, who shared his rejection of reservation life



01 Custer leaves Terry

On 22 June, unaware that Crook had just been defeated at Powder Creek, Terry sends Custer's 7th Cavalry to sweep around the Indian camp from the east and south, while he approaches from the north.

02 Custer attacks

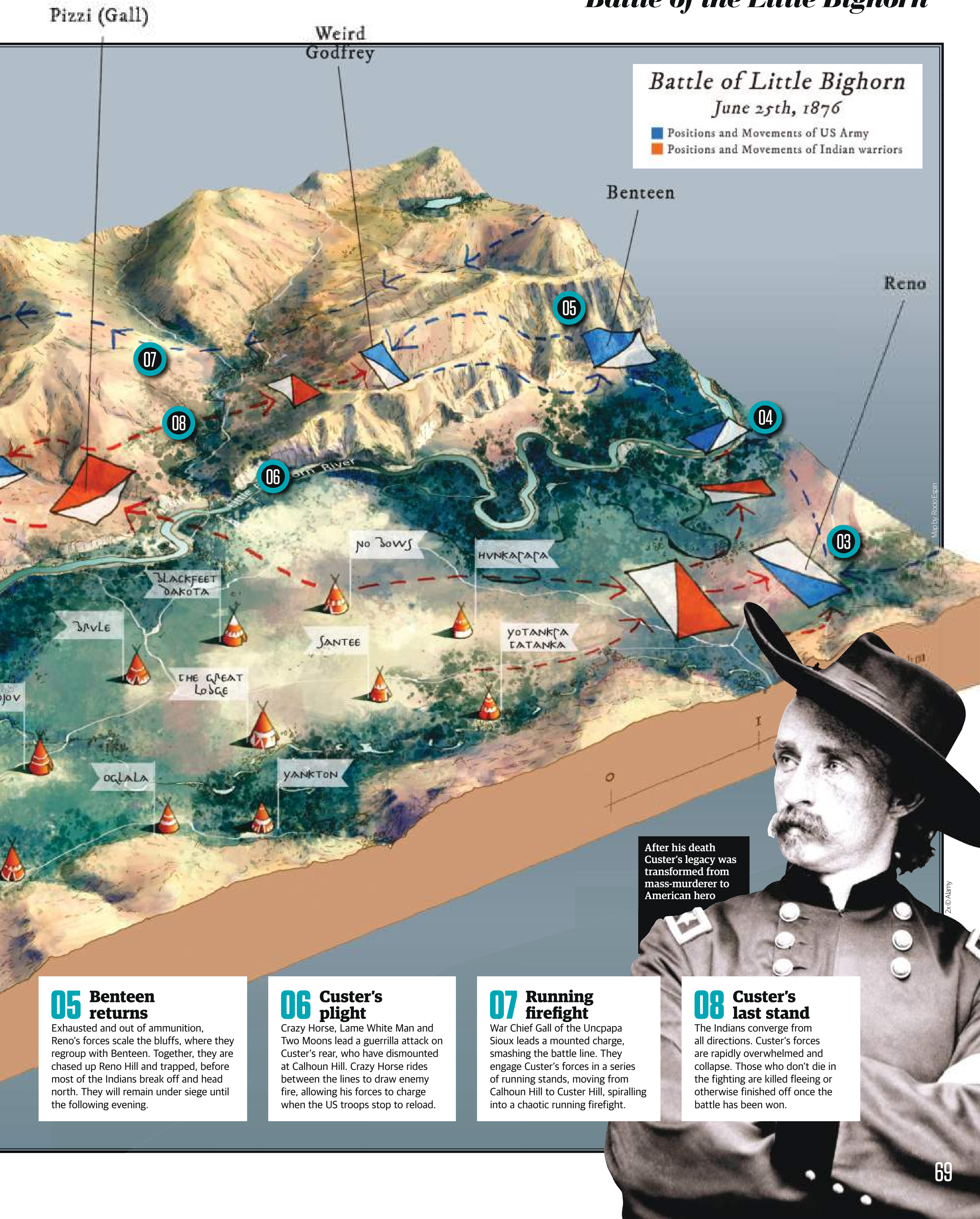
On 25 June, after being spotted, Custer splits his forces into four. While Benteen scouts the southwest, Reno chases after a group of Lakota warriors and Custer heads further north.

03 Reno's first move

Reno fords a river 3km south of the Indian camp and attacks a group of warriors. As reinforcements arrive, overwhelming them, Reno's men dismount and form a skirmish line.

04 Retreat

After being outflanked by Crazy Horse's arrival, Reno's men hide in some timber, before being chased back across the Little Bighorn River and into the bluffs to the east.


Pizzi (Gall)
Weird Godfrey
Battle of Little Bighorn
June 25th, 1876
🟦 Positions and Movements of US Army
🟧 Positions and Movements of Indian warriors
Benteen
Reno
05
07
08
04
06
Little Bighorn River
03
No Bows
Hunkpapa
Blackfeet Dakota
Brule
Santee
Yotankpa Tatanka
The Great Lodge
Oglala
Yankton
0
1

Map by Rocio Espin

After his death Custer's legacy was transformed from mass-murderer to American hero

2x © Alamy

05 Benteen returns

Exhausted and out of ammunition, Reno's forces scale the bluffs, where they regroup with Benteen. Together, they are chased up Reno Hill and trapped, before most of the Indians break off and head north. They will remain under siege until the following evening.

06 Custer's plight

Crazy Horse, Lame White Man and Two Moons lead a guerrilla attack on Custer's rear, who have dismounted at Calhoun Hill. Crazy Horse rides between the lines to draw enemy fire, allowing his forces to charge when the US troops stop to reload.

07 Running firefight

War Chief Gall of the Uncpapa Sioux leads a mounted charge, smashing the battle line. They engage Custer's forces in a series of running stands, moving from Calhoun Hill to Custer Hill, spiralling into a chaotic running firefight.

08 Custer's last stand

The Indians converge from all directions. Custer's forces are rapidly overwhelmed and collapse. Those who don't die in the fighting are killed fleeing or otherwise finished off once the battle has been won.

What If…

STEPHEN OF BLOIS HAD DIED IN THE WHITE SHIP DISASTER?

Without Stephen being able to claim the crown, England may have experienced its first queen regnant

Interview by Emily Staniforth

INTERVIEW WITH

© Jeni Nott

CATHERINE HANLEY

Dr Catherine Hanley is a historian of Medieval Studies. She is the author of *Matilda: Empress, Queen, Warrior* (Yale University Press, 2019) and *Two Houses, Two Kingdoms: A History of France and England, 1100-1300* (Yale University Press, 2022).

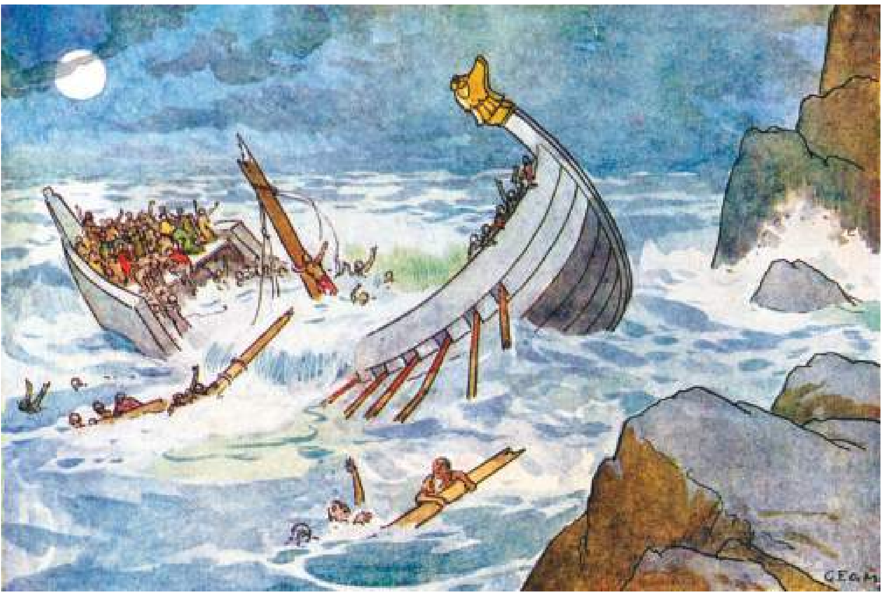
On 25 November 1120, the political status of England was thrown into chaos when a ship sank off the coast of France. The White Ship had set sail from France carrying around 300 passengers. All except one died in the disaster, including the ship's most important passenger William Adelin. William was the only legitimate son of King Henry I and heir to the English throne and with his death, England was left without a clear successor. William's sister, Empress Matilda (the wife of the Holy Roman Emperor), was the only other legitimate child of Henry I but, as a woman, was not an ideal choice.

When Henry I died 15 years after the sinking, it was Stephen of Blois, Henry's nephew, who claimed the throne and went head to head with Matilda over the crown in a civil war known as The Anarchy. However, Stephen had also meant to travel on the White Ship's fateful voyage in 1120 but disembarked before the ship set sail. If he had also died in the disaster, would the succession have been more peacefully resolved?

If Stephen of Blois had died in the White Ship disaster alongside William Adelin, would other claimants have positioned themselves to take the crown?

Yes, there would have been two main male candidates in the immediate aftermath of the disaster, in addition to Empress Matilda as the more direct but female heir. The first was William Clito, who was the son of Robert Curthose (who was himself William the Conqueror's eldest son, and Henry I's elder brother). Arguably both of them had a better right to the throne than Henry anyway, which was why Curthose was in prison and Clito in exile. Henry, naturally, did everything he could to keep Clito away from any talk of the succession, which was easy when he had a son of his own. Even after William Adelin's disastrous death, Henry was known to favour the family of his sister Adela (Stephen's mother), and especially Stephen, whom he had loaded down with favours. So even after William Adelin's death there was still a male candidate who wasn't Clito. However, if Stephen had died in the shipwreck as well, then this would have strengthened Clito's claims greatly, and I think we would have seen more of the barons coming out in support of his hereditary claims to both England and Normandy.

These claims of Clito's were certainly pressing at the time of the White Ship disaster itself, in 1120. However, by the time Henry I actually died, in 1135, and the question of his successor became urgent, Clito was already dead and therefore out of the picture. There was, however, another male relative who could be put forward: Theobald of Blois, who was Stephen's older brother. In strict hereditary terms he would have



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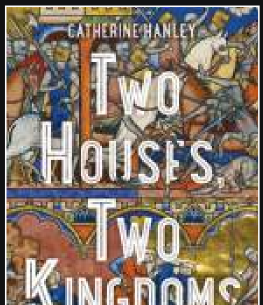
Main image source: © Getty Images

RIGHT
The White Ship hit rocks and sank off the coast of France

Has anyone seen Steve?


CATHERINE HANLEY
TWO HOUSES, TWO KINGDOMS
A HISTORY OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND 1100-1300

Two Houses, Two Kingdoms: A History of France and England, 1100-1300 (Yale University Press, 2022) by Catherine Hanley is available to buy now.

THE PAST

25 NOVEMBER 1120

THE WHITE SHIP SINKS

The White Ship was due to carry 300 passengers to England from Normandy, France. One of the earliest known accounts of the disaster was written by William of Malmesbury who recorded that the passengers, including the crew, had gotten drunk and rowdy before it set sail. This atmosphere was the reason Stephen of Blois decided to disembark. After crashing into rocks, everybody but one passenger died, including William Adelin who initially escaped on another boat but turned back to rescue his half sister. His boat sank with the ship.

8 DECEMBER 1135

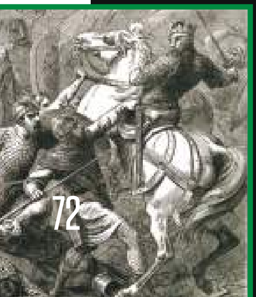
STEPHEN CLAIMS THE THRONE

King Henry I died on 1 December 1135. Before his death, Henry had made the barons swear an oath to accept his daughter, Matilda, as his successor and their new queen. However, at the time of her father's death, Matilda was living in Anjou, France with her second husband Geoffrey. She may not have even learned of her father's death before Stephen, who was situated in Boulogne, had made his way to Westminster to claim the English throne. Stephen's succession was sealed with his coronation on 22 December. Matilda, despite her father's endeavour to confirm her succession, did not have the resources to challenge her cousin at the time.

1138-1153

ANARCHY ENSUES

In 1138, Matilda decided it was time to face Stephen and fight for the crown she believed to be rightfully hers. She arrived in England alongside her half brother, Robert of Gloucester. Over the next 15 years, Matilda and Stephen's forces faced each other at a number of battles as they vied for the throne. The period of civil war came to be known as The Anarchy. Ultimately, the war was ended by the Treaty of Wallingford which agreed that Stephen would remain king until his death, but would be succeeded by Matilda's son, who became King Henry II.



been higher up the queue than Stephen anyway – and indeed in the real world the barons of Normandy offered him the duchy after Henry I's death – but Stephen was better known in England and more popular with the Londoners who helped to get him crowned King of England, so Theobald ended up having to accept his brother's *fait accompli*. If Stephen had pre-deceased Henry I, then Theobald's claims would have been much stronger, and I think it likely that the barons, especially those who were opposed to female rule, would have offered him the crown rather than Matilda.

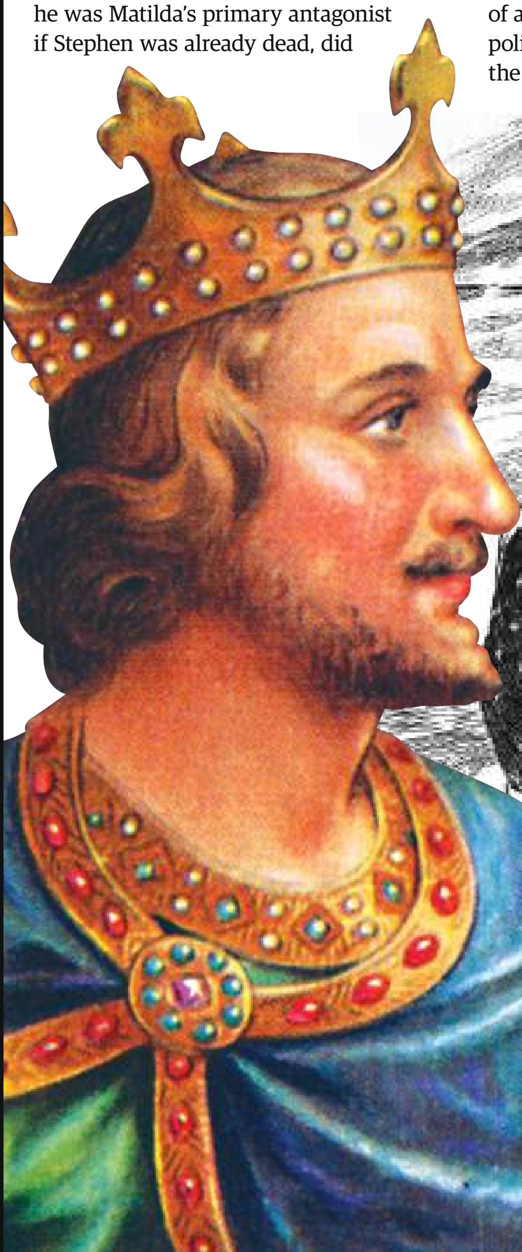
Would Empress Matilda have become Queen of England without Stephen able to claim the throne after Henry I's death?

On the one hand, one of the principal reasons she was usurped was that Stephen was able to react so quickly: he was the count of Boulogne and already in the best place to shoot across the Channel and claim the throne. Theobald, assuming he was Matilda's primary antagonist if Stephen was already dead, did not have this advantage so the race would have been more even.

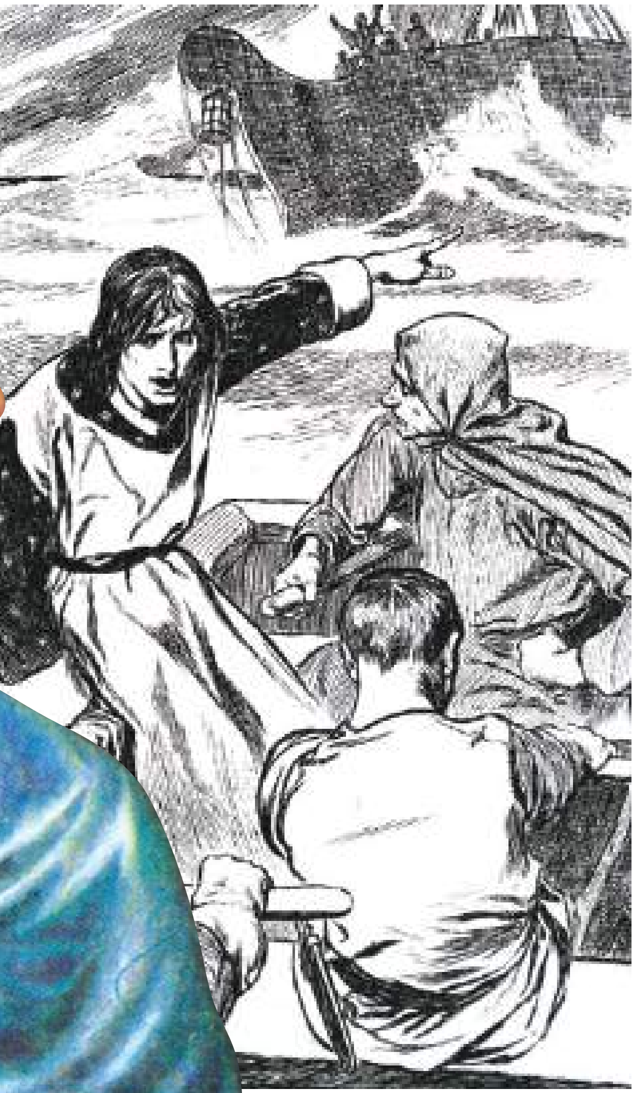
On the other hand, there were still those barons who were dead set against the idea of female rule, so they would still have been against Matilda even if her opponent was someone other than Stephen. It's difficult to call, though in my opinion Matilda would have seemed like a more plausible candidate if her opponent had been Theobald rather than Stephen. Theobald was much less well-known and less popular than his brother. Also, with a smaller field of available adult male candidates, the claims of Matilda's infant sons might have been pushed forward more forcefully, which would have aided her cause.

Is it possible that England might still have descended into civil war, even if Stephen had not been alive to lead forces against Matilda?

Yes: those who were against female rule would support anyone but Matilda as long as he was male and had some semblance of a claim. But I think she would have polished off Theobald more quickly, so the war wouldn't have gone on for so



BELOW-LEFT
Stephen of Blois, later King Stephen, disembarked the White Ship before it set sail



BELOW-RIGHT
William Adelin orders his boat to return to the sinking White Ship

long, and I think she stood a much greater chance of actually winning it.

Let us not forget that at a pivotal point in the war it was Stephen's wife, the formidable and capable Matilda of Boulogne, who was commanding his forces while he was in captivity. No Stephen also means no Matilda of Boulogne, which means no resistance at that crucial time. So yes to there possibly still being a war, but also yes to Empress Matilda winning it.

If Matilda had been accepted as queen, what might her reign have looked like?

I think that Matilda personally would have made a more than adequate ruling monarch – she was clever, well-educated and politically experienced. With no war to contend with she could focus on longer-term strategies rather than simply firefighting, and I think that her background might have inclined her to do more in the way of making international alliances than Stephen ever did.

However, whether she would have been able to do all this without mini-rebellions and revolts springing up all over the place is a different matter. There would still have been either a majority or a significant minority of barons who were opposed to the entire concept of a female ruling monarch, and this would have come back to bite Matilda, so that her reign as a whole (as opposed to her personal performance) would have been something of a disaster.

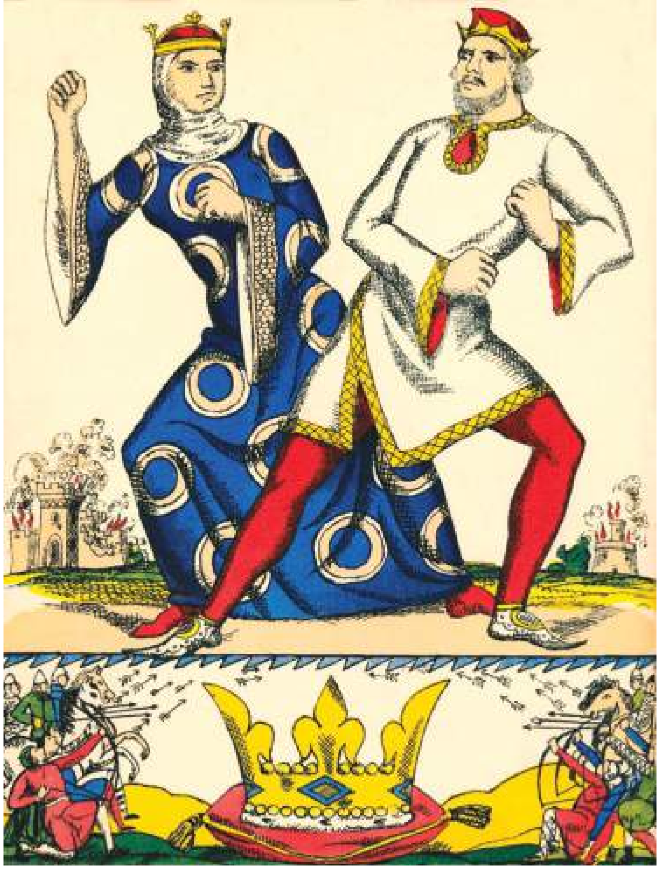
Every king makes the occasional misstep – Stephen certainly had more than his fair share – but in Matilda's case this would have been seized upon as evidence that women were not suited to ruling. She would have been in a Catch-22 situation: if she was authoritative and commanding she would be 'unwomanly' and unnatural, and therefore unfit to rule; but if she was too yielding then this would have been put down to a womanly softness which also made her unfit to rule. Stephen's mistakes were always his own: nobody ever used them as an excuse to say that men were temperamentally unsuited to rule. But we have to allow for the extreme double standards that Matilda would have encountered, and I don't think she would ever have had a peaceful five minutes.

Would there have been any ramifications to the succession of the crown if Matilda had ruled England instead of Stephen?

This is one of the few things that wouldn't have ended up being all that different. In real life the war was fought to a standstill, and the agreement was that Stephen would remain king for life but that he would be succeeded by Matilda's son, Henry, rather than his own son, Eustace. If Matilda had ruled, she would still have been succeeded by Henry II. The only real question is whether she would have reigned until her death (in 1167, by which time Henry would have been in his mid-thirties) or whether she would have moved aside earlier in order to let Henry take over as soon as he was old enough and competent enough to do so. My guess on that, incidentally, is that she would have preferred the former but been obliged to settle for the latter.

How do you think historians would regard Matilda's queenship today if she had been allowed to rule without Stephen's opposition?

I'm afraid the general consensus would be that her reign was a bit of a disaster – again, not because she was personally useless, but because she would have been judged by different and impossible standards (by modern historians as well as contemporaries). People would point either to the fact that she couldn't keep control, or that she was too controlling, and she would never be able to win. I don't think it was Matilda's fault, particularly, but in the 12th century England simply wasn't ready for a female king.



ABOVE
Stephen and Matilda fought for the English crown in a period known as The Anarchy

THE POSSIBILITY

25 NOVEMBER 1120

ANOTHER DROWNED HEIR

If Stephen had not been perturbed by the unruly entourage of the ship's crew, it is likely that he would also have died onboard when the White Ship went down off the coast of Normandy. It is likely that little would have been made of Stephen's drowning, as in 1120 he was a fairly insignificant name who would have been an unlikely choice to become the heir to the English throne. However, he was favoured by his uncle, the king, and so his loss may have been felt at court. With Stephen dead and another 15 years before the death of Henry I, there was still plenty of time for other candidates to stake their claims to the throne.

DECEMBER 1135

MATILDA BECOMES QUEEN

Upon the death of her father and with no Stephen to race to Westminster and claim the throne, it is highly likely that Matilda would have inherited the crown with little opposition. While the English barons may not have been thrilled to have a female ruler, they had sworn an oath to Henry I saying they would accept Matilda as his successor. Without Stephen there to give the barons a viable alternative, Matilda would likely have had her coronation at Westminster Abbey. It is also likely that any opposition from claimants such as Theobald would probably have presented itself after she became queen.

1135-1167

REBELLION AGAINST THE CROWN

Even if Matilda had become queen regnant, that is not to say that she would have had a peaceful time on the throne. As a female ruler she was bound to run into opposition from barons and noblemen who doubted her ability to rule effectively. With other male claimants to the throne still alive, it is very possible that a rebellion movement with a male heir as a figurehead would have challenged Matilda for her throne. She would likely have spent the majority of her reign desperately trying to consolidate her power.

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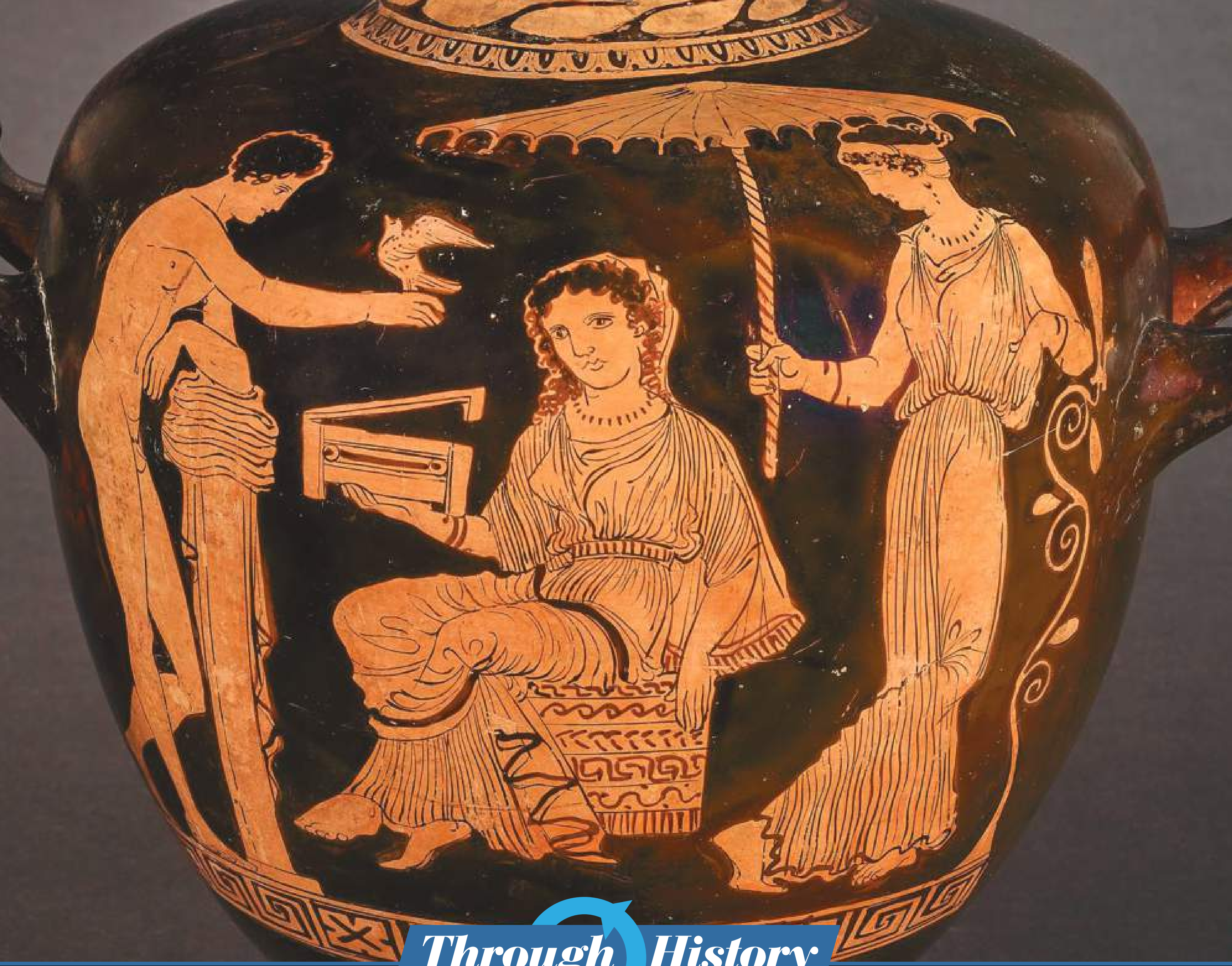

Through History

LUXURY AND POWER

A new exhibition at the British Museum explores the opulence of the ancient Persians

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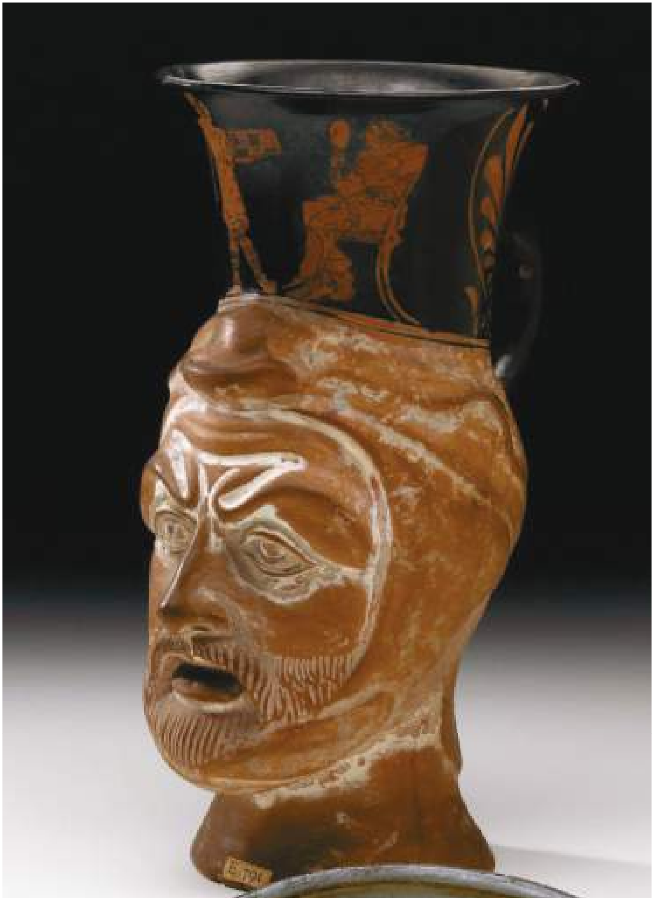
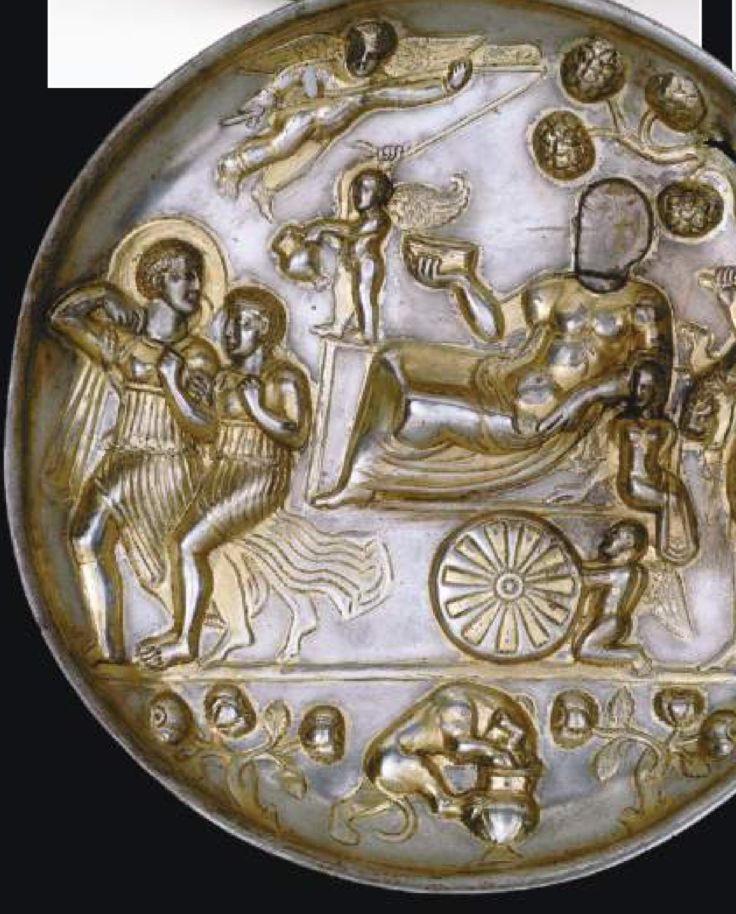
Between 550 and 30 BCE, the Persian empire engaged in a series of struggles for power and prestige with the ancient Greeks before it was ultimately conquered by Alexander the Great of Macedon. Under Alexander's rule, the luxurious and ornate items used by the Persians as a show of authority collided with the Greeks who believed that Persian culture was decadent. However, the Greeks were not averse to displays of luxury themselves. Now, the British Museum in London, UK is exhibiting a range of magnificent artefacts and treasures from across Alexander's empire, from the Middle East to southeast Europe, in order to explore the complex relationship between power and luxury.

Among the vast array of artefacts, many of which come from the museum's collection, are objects made from gold, silver and glass that show how the Persian and Greek styles fused together throughout the Macedonian kingdom. Also on display is the Panagyurishte Treasure from Bulgaria that has been loaned to the museum for this exhibition. These stunning treasures highlight the influence and reach of Persia and Greece into the Balkans. Luxury and Power: Persia to Greece allows visitors to discover how each culture affected the other, as well as the regions around them.

PERSIAN HEAD VESSEL

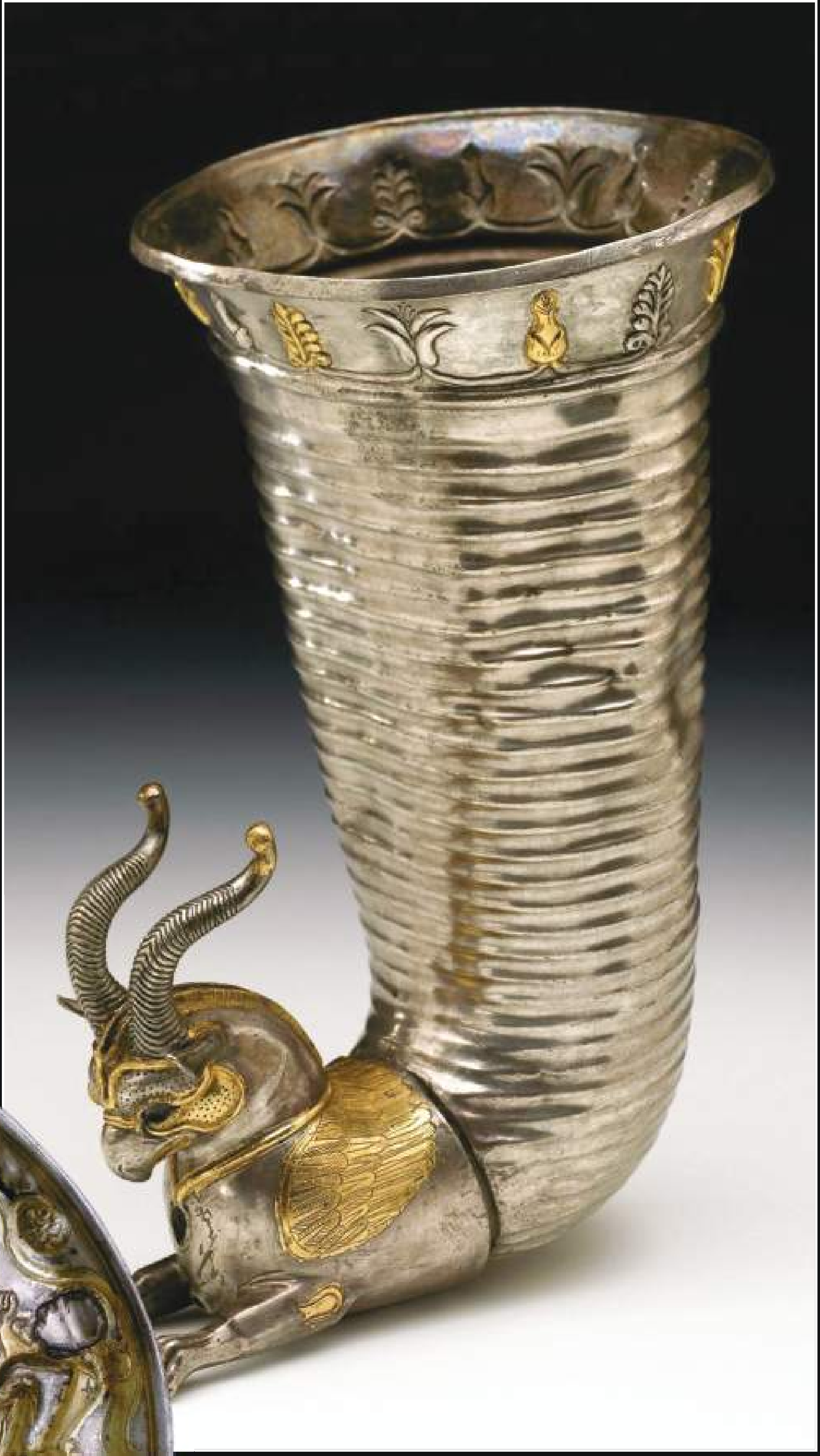
▼ Dating from between 410 and 400 BCE, this Athenian drinking cup is designed to look like a bearded Persian man. The images above the head show two women: a well-dressed and decorated woman being served by a maid. The maid may be a Persian slave.





SILVER PLATE

◀ This impressively detailed and intricately designed plate is gilded with silver. It is believed to date from between the 2nd and 3rd centuries and is possibly from either Iran or Afghanistan. The design is based on the triumph of Dionysus.

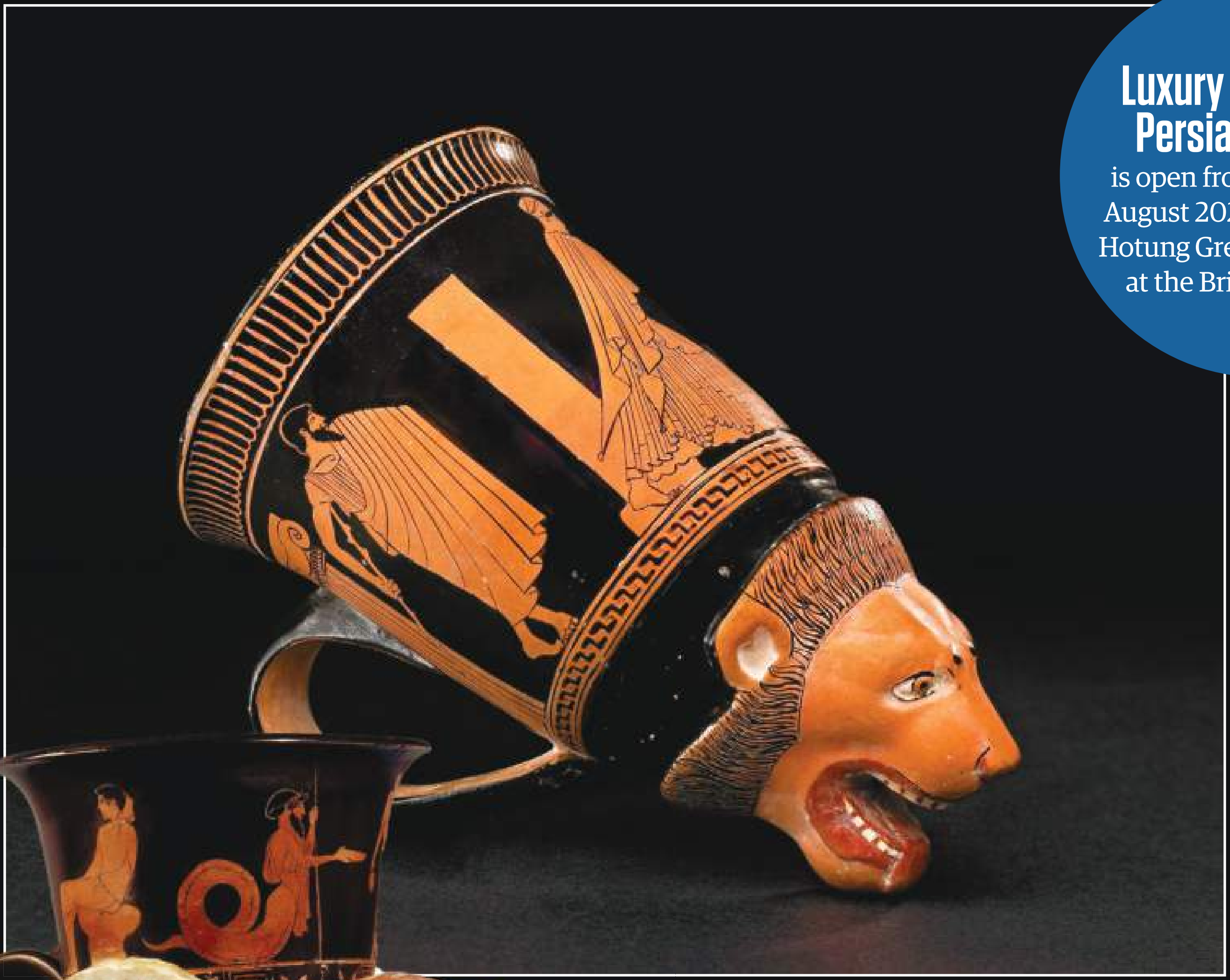


GRIFFIN RHYTON

▲ This vessel for liquid, known as a rhyton, is Persian in origin and is designed in the shape of a griffin. Gilded with silver, the rhyton was used to pour wine. Its extravagant design attests to the splendour of the Persian court.

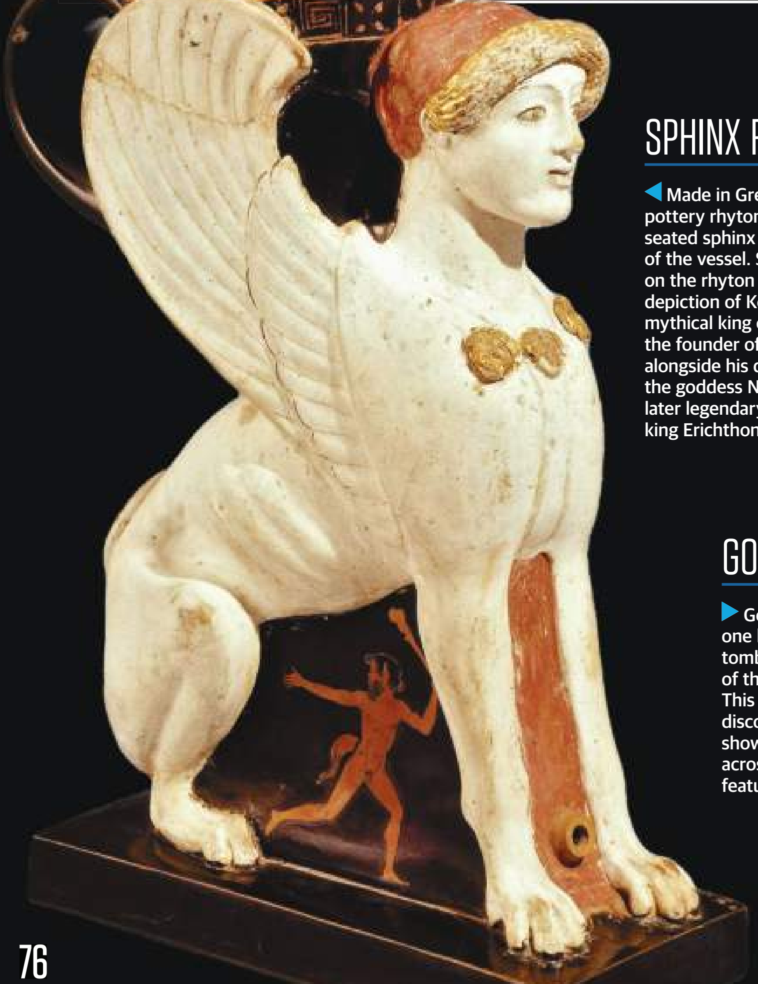
Luxury and Power: Persia to Greece

is open from now until 13 August 2023 in the Joseph Hotung Great Court Gallery at the British Museum.



LION RHYTON

◀ Similar to some of the Persian vessels on display, this particular rhyton was Athenian and shows how Persian designs permeated art and design in Athens. It is made from pottery and is in the shape of a lion's head.

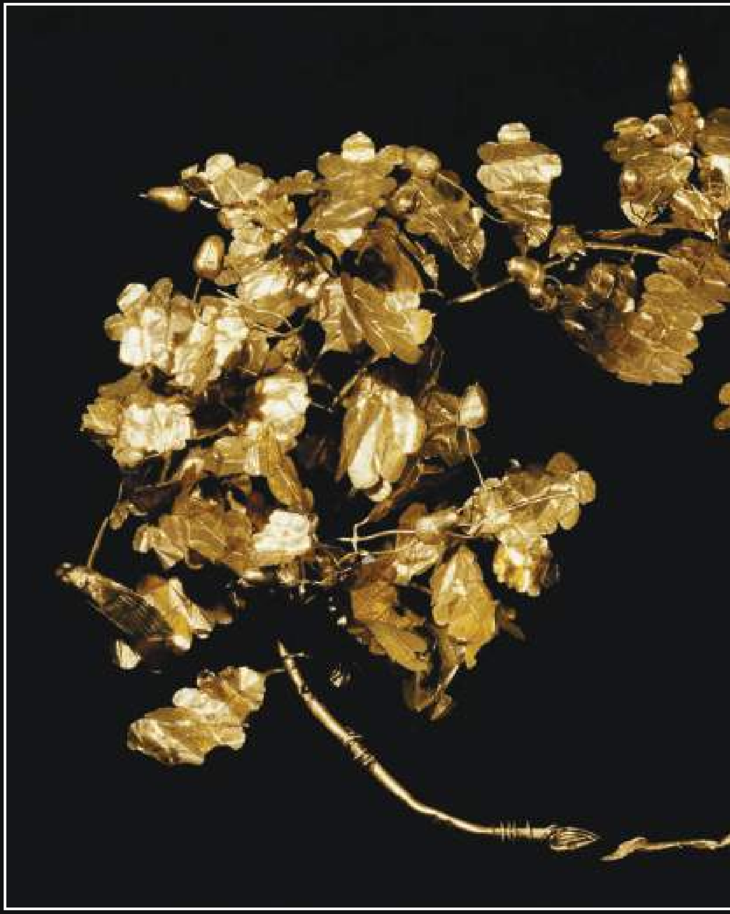


SPHINX RHYTON

◀ Made in Greece, this pottery rhyton has a large seated sphinx as the focus of the vessel. Scenes on the rhyton include a depiction of Kekrops, a mythical king of Attica and the founder of Athens, alongside his daughters, the goddess Nike and a later legendary Athenian king Erichthonius.

GOLD WREATH

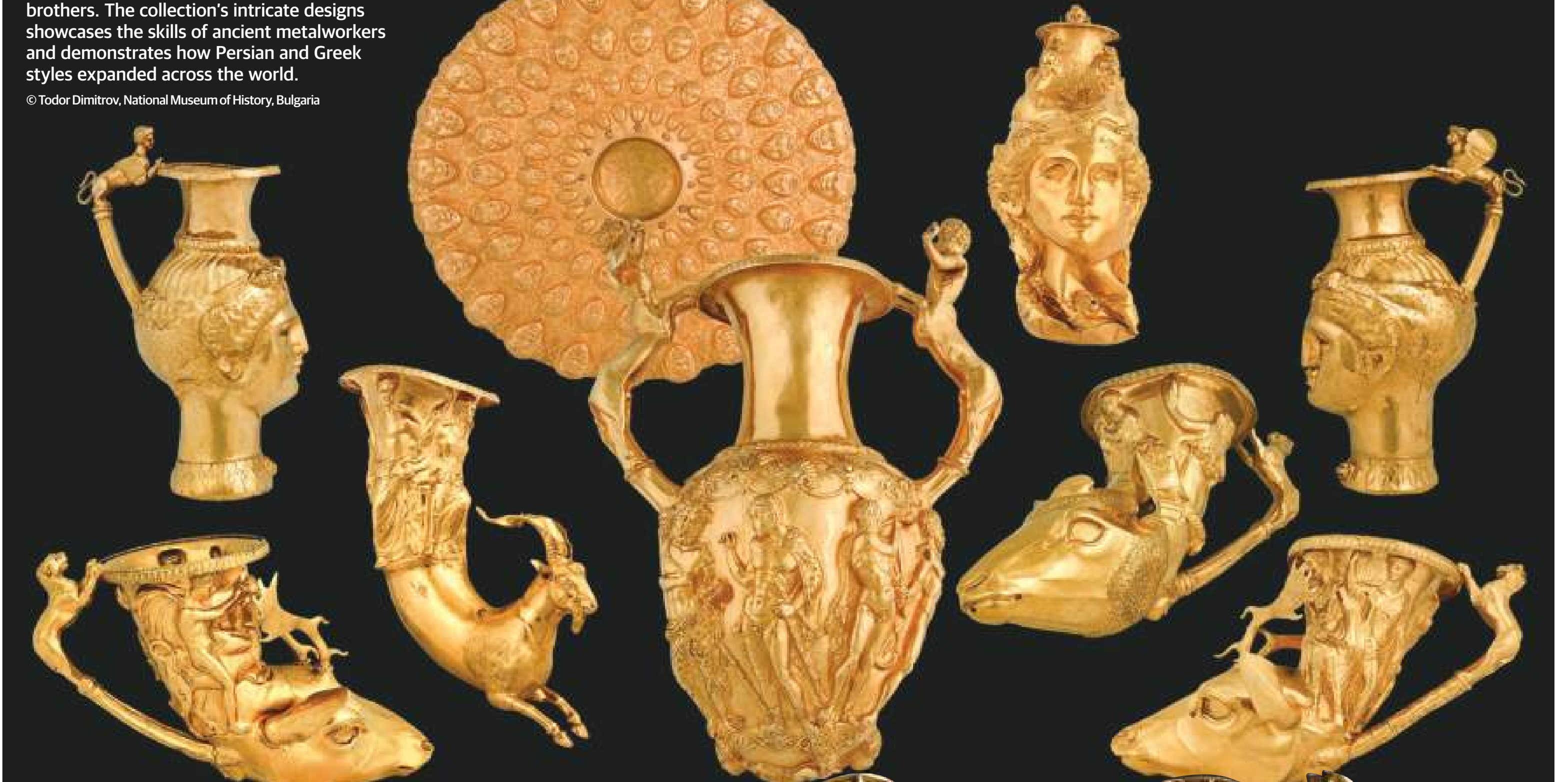
▶ Gold wreaths like this one have been found in the tombs of the elite members of the Macedonian kingdom. This particular wreath was discovered in Turkey and shows how finery spread across territories. The design features bees and cicadas.

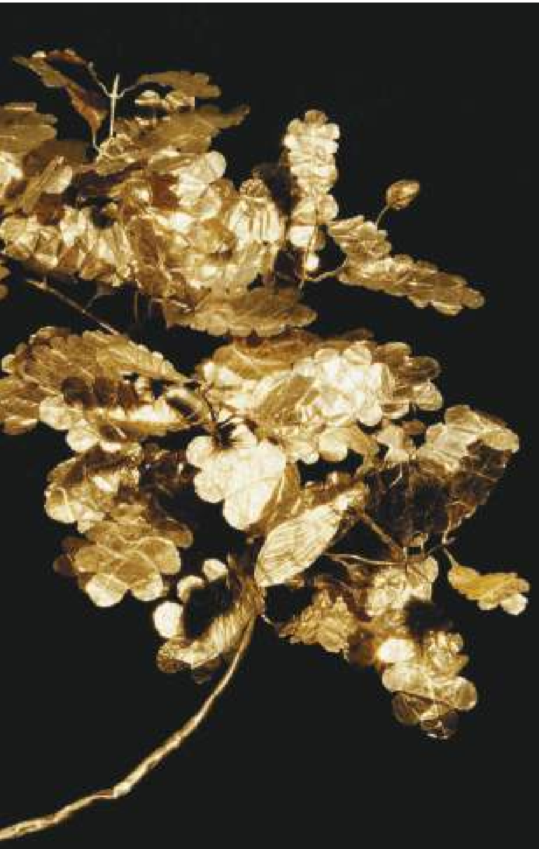


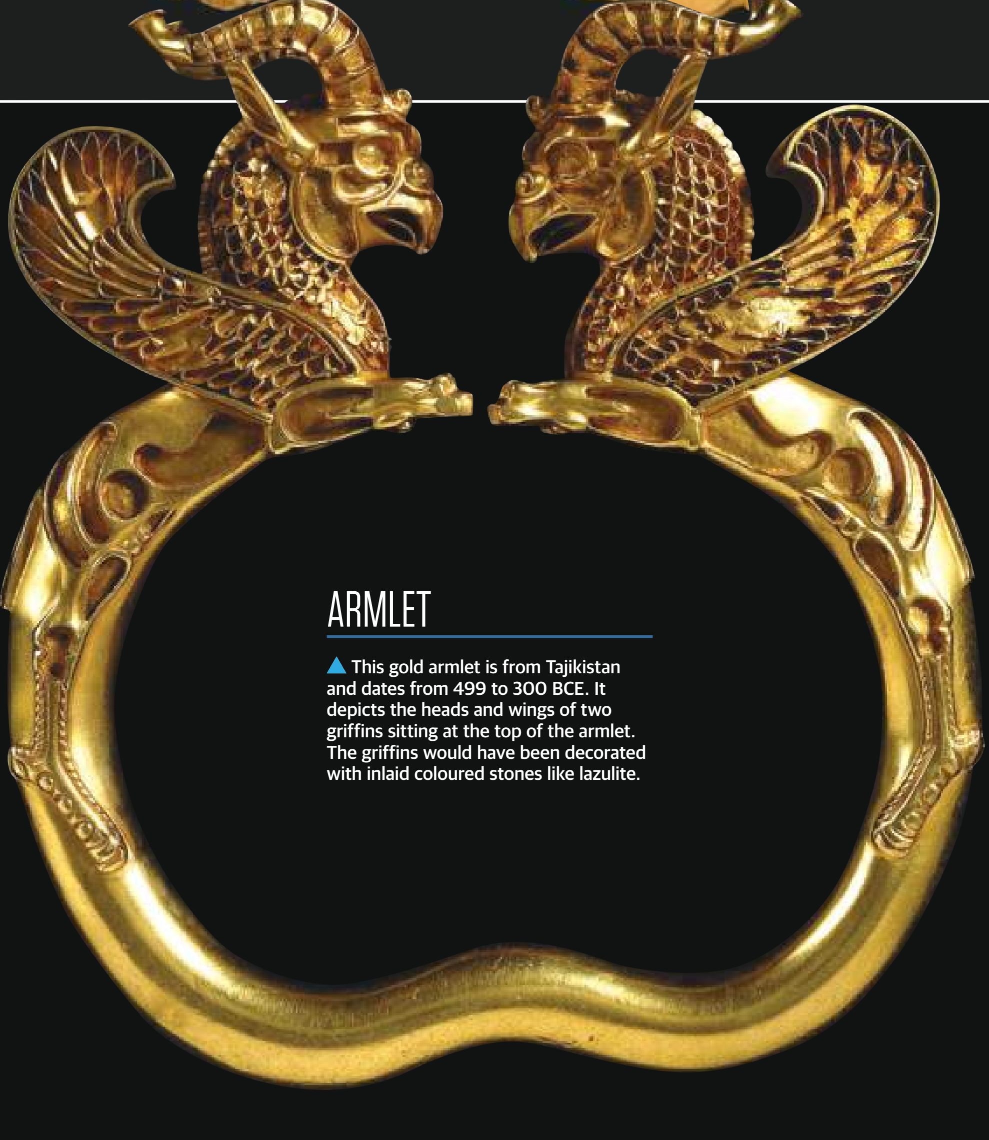
PANAGYURISHTE TREASURE

▼ Made up of eight gold drinking vessels and a golden bowl, the Panagyurishte Treasure was discovered in 1949 by three brothers. The collection's intricate designs showcases the skills of ancient metalworkers and demonstrates how Persian and Greek styles expanded across the world.

© Todor Dimitrov, National Museum of History, Bulgaria





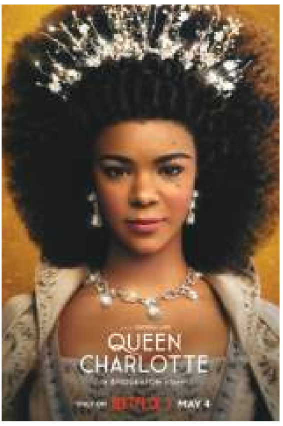


ARMLET

▲ This gold armlet is from Tajikistan and dates from 499 to 300 BCE. It depicts the heads and wings of two griffins sitting at the top of the armlet. The griffins would have been decorated with inlaid coloured stones like lazulite.

REVIEWS

The books, TV shows and films causing a stir in the history world this month



© Liam Daniel/Netflix © 2023

QUEEN CHARLOTTE: A BRIDGERTON STORY

A powerhouse prequel to Netflix's worldwide Regency hit

Certificate: 15 **Director:** Tom Verica **Cast:** India Amarteifio, Corey Mylchreest, Golda Rosheuvel **Released:** Out now

When Netflix's *Bridgerton* made its debut on Christmas Day in 2020, Regency fever seemed to sweep the world. Audiences couldn't get enough of the raunch and romance and presiding over all of it, imperious and commanding, was the unflappable, unknowable Queen Charlotte. The new spin-off prequel series, *Queen Charlotte: A Bridgerton Story*, aims to discover what shaped the seemingly poised queen who keeps her court preserved as it was decades earlier.

Queen Charlotte: A Bridgerton Story is a six-part prequel to *Bridgerton* which, unlike the series that spawned it, doesn't find its origins in the wildly popular series of novels. This time the series is written almost solely by producer Shonda Rhimes herself, whose Shondaland production company is responsible for bringing the *Bridgerton* universe to life. Perhaps mindful of the enormous debate around historical accuracy that greeted the earlier series, this time the action starts with the familiar tones of Julie Andrews as Lady Whistledown, warning viewers that what they are about to watch is not intended to be a history lesson, but a fiction inspired by fact.

The series is told in two timelines, the first being the world of *Bridgerton*, as the older queen attempts to bring her sons into line in order to provide the royal family with a much-needed heir. The death of Princess Charlotte of Wales, the Prince Regent's daughter, has left the line of succession looking precarious, and it's time for the unruly princes to do their bit.

The bulk of the action doesn't take place in the familiar world of *Bridgerton* though, but in an earlier time, when 17-year-old Charlotte is chosen as a bride to King George III. Charlotte is so desperate to escape her fate that she tries to make a run for it, only to be caught out by her husband-to-be. Far from the oaf she had feared, George turns out to be looking for a friend, and the couple fall in love. But as they do, the shadow of George's precarious mental health hangs over their happy marriage, leaving a sombre air over a romance that we already know will end in tragedy.

Queen Charlotte: A Bridgerton Story tackled critics of *Bridgerton*'s diverse casting head on, establishing how George's mother elevated wealthy black families to the peerage in an effort to make the new queen feel less isolated in her new role. It also introduces us to some well-loved characters in their youth, including the exuberant young Lady Danbury. In these characters we see one of the greatest strengths of the series – the chemistry between the female characters. It's a pleasure to get to know them all and Rhimes' writing really shines in scenes between the women of the court.

As Charlotte and George, India Amarteifio and Corey Mylchreest ably capture the vivacity and reticence of their characters respectively, and the show will undoubtedly be another smash for Shondaland. It might not be a history lesson, but as entertainment it succeeds wholeheartedly. ***CC***

★★★★☆

Reviews by
Catherine Curzon, Jackson van Uden, Mallory James

MRS PANKHURST'S BODYGUARD

Uncovering the self-defence side of the suffragettes' story

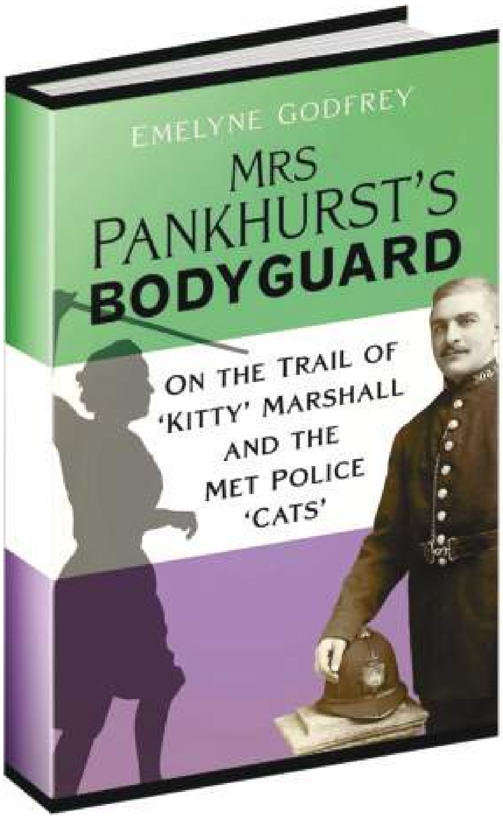
Author: Emelyne Godfrey **Publisher:** The History Press
Price: £22.99 **Released:** Out now

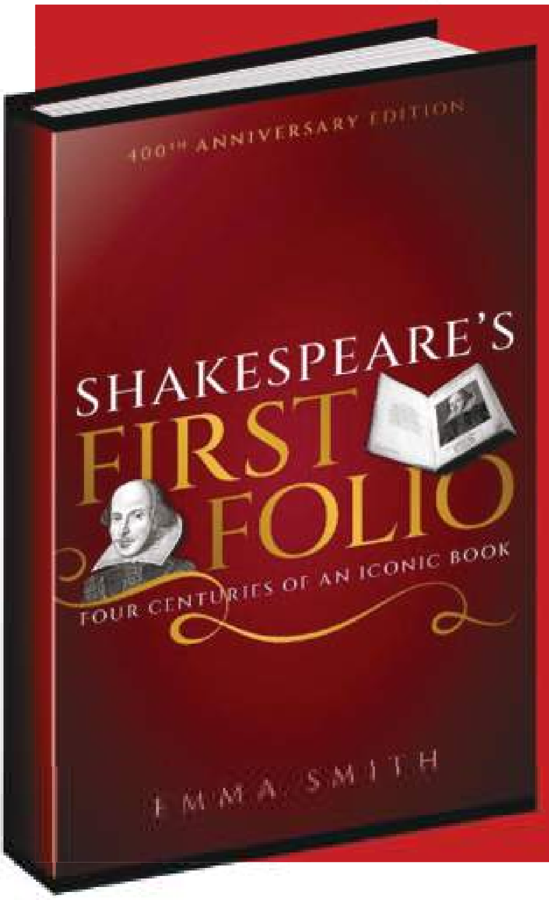
In *Mrs Pankhurst's Bodyguard*, Emelyne Godfrey tells the criminally neglected story of Katherine "Kitty" Marshall. Kitty broke with convention in 1901 when she shocked her family by seeking a divorce and joining the newly founded Women's Social and Political Union, where she soon became a figure to be reckoned with. Alongside her second husband, a lawyer who defended the suffragettes in court, Kitty became one half of a powerful team. While he took care of the legal side, she was on the front line, fighting for the cause as a member of Mrs Pankhurst's team of bodyguards. With the law always on their trail, it was certainly a risky endeavour.

Kitty's story is one that is so remarkable it might have sprung from fiction, but every word of it is true. Godfrey tells the story with a keen eye for historical context and an innate understanding of the world that Kitty, her fellow suffragettes and the police who sought them inhabited. In teasing out the cat-and-mouse chase between Kitty and Detective Inspector Ralph Kitchener, who was pursuing the suffragettes, she brings the reality of the struggle for suffrage vividly to life.

Using previously unpublished photographs and other materials, Godfrey once again shines the spotlight on the ju-jitsu trained Kitty Marshall and her contemporaries. This fascinating and highly readable account deserves to find a wide audience; it is accessible and compelling, and should appeal to readers across a broad spectrum of interests. ***CC***

★★★★★


EMELYNE GODFREY
MRS PANKHURST'S BODYGUARD
ON THE TRAIL OF 'KITTY' MARSHALL AND THE MET POLICE 'CATS'


400TH ANNIVERSARY EDITION
SHAKESPEARE'S FIRST FOLIO
FOUR CENTURIES OF AN ICONIC BOOK
EMMA SMITH

SHAKESPEARE'S FIRST FOLIO

'Contextualising the material Shakespeare' 400 years on

Author: Emma Smith **Publisher:** Oxford University Press
Price: £20 **Released:** Out now

Within *Shakespeare's First Folio* Emma Smith has provided a fascinating insight into the history of the First Folio of The Bard of Avon's work, and we thoroughly enjoyed it. Within the pages of this book, we found the rich, forgotten history of the 'material Shakespeare' and we were guided through the origins of the First Folio. Discover its meaning and value to individuals, institutions, and nations across the world, from American robber-baron businessmen to the Meisei University Library in Japan, to the ever Shakespeare-adoring British public.

Smith breaks down the history of the First Folio into five amazingly detailed and thorough chapters, focusing on the ownership of the folios, the reading of them, academic engagement, their relationship with the world of performance, and the perfecting of them. In breaking down the different aspects of the lives of the folios, you will learn about the importance of facsimiles, or reproduction copies, to democratising Shakespeare and the first folios allowing teachers and students more opportunities to read, perform and analyse England's unofficial national poet's work. Smith also teaches us the importance of facsimiles in protecting, sometimes unsuccessfully, original copies of the First Folios.

Our favourite part of *Shakespeare's First Folio* is the story of Henry Folger, the obstacles he had to clear and the financial strain he put himself under to obtain an enviable Folio collection. ***JvU***

★★★★★

The History Of Cults

The word 'cult' conjures a wide variety of images in the mind, from sinister hooded figures to ancient scriptures warning of Armageddon. Not all cults are like this, but their aims can often be manipulated by leaders with darker intentions. In *History Of Cults* you will meet the worst and most outlandish 'messiahs' and dive into how they created the movements they controlled.

Buy *The History Of Cults* in shops or online at **magazinesdirect.com Price:** £15.99

HISTORY OF WAR RECOMMENDS...

The Battle Of The Beams

Author Tom Whipple **Price** £20 **Publisher** Bantam

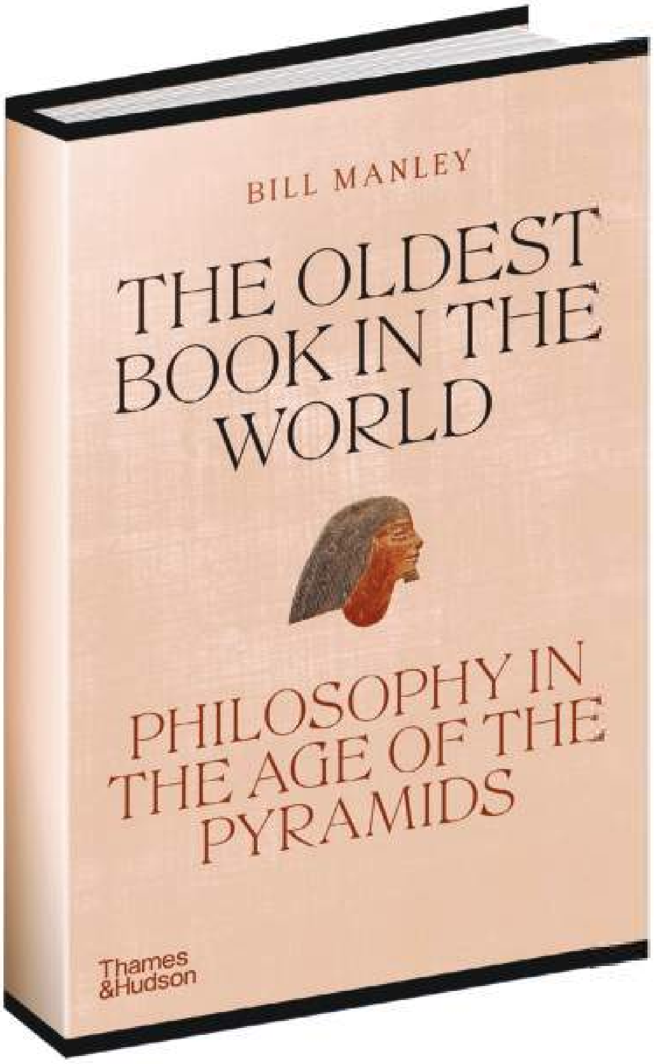
For years, the role played by British boffins during World War II went largely ignored. This excellent book by *The Times* science editor Tom Whipple now makes use of recently released government papers to help tell the story of wartime scientist Reginald Jones. The book details how he then went on to prove his theories about the Luftwaffe using radio waves to guide bombers over targets, outwit the Nazi scientists he was up against and ultimately save thousands of lives.

THE OLDEST BOOK IN THE WORLD:

PHILOSOPHY IN THE AGE OF THE PYRAMIDS

A captivating exploration of Ancient Egyptian ideas, language and history

Author: Bill Manley **Publisher:** Thames and Hudson Ltd **Price:** £25 **Released:** Out now



"A thought-provoking history that encompasses philosophy, society, language and beyond"

In *The Oldest Book In The World: Philosophy In The Age Of The Pyramids*, Egyptologist Dr Bill Manley presents a new translation of *The Teaching Of Ptahhatp*. 4,000 years old, and composed 2,000 years before Plato was born, *The Teaching Of Ptahhatp* is perhaps astonishing to many simply for its age. But it is so much more than this - and Manley's exploration and interpretation of the text builds a wide-ranging and thought-provoking history of Ancient Egypt that encompasses philosophy, society, language and beyond.

The modern history of the text emerges with its rediscovery in the 19th century, and a translation of *The Teaching* was published in Paris in 1858. However, *The Teaching* was then long overlooked as something too obscure and overly complex, even to the most interested of parties. This new translation brings the enduring interest of Ptahhatp's words to 21st century readers.

The author of *The Teaching* is identified as the Ptahhatp who served as vizier to King Izezi in the Old Kingdom period. The origins of the text are dated to the 25th century BCE. Despite the extensive passage of time, certain instructions - don't gossip! - still echo today. Themes of responsibility and reputation, fear and friendship are also present.

However, *The Teaching* should not simply be seen as an advice manual. It is a distinct statement of philosophy concerned with the way in which life is lived and understood. In addition to this, *The Oldest Book In The World* also includes a translation of *Why Things Happen*, a text concerning the beginnings of creation. *The Oldest Book In The World* underlines that philosophy did not emerge exclusively from classical Greece - philosophical questions were being posed long before in Ancient Egypt.

Throughout *The Oldest Book In The World*, the text is accompanied by annotated images, and the translations are introduced with explanations of methodology and histories of their original layout. It explains how different colours of ink were used to structure the text. How people sat down, held a scroll and physically put words on the paper are incorporated. This is not a cold history or translation of words carved in stone or written on scrolls, but an attempt to re-imagine and re-understand a society on their own terms. How *The Teaching* and its historical context may be understood by readers today after the passing of thousands of years is also explored.

In a clear and engaging writing style, Manley has taken a text that has long been overlooked and brought it to fresh attention. In discussing both *The Teaching* - the history of its journey, translation and interpretation - and Ancient Egypt more broadly, he has created a compelling and comprehensive account of the era. *The Oldest Book In The World* will appeal not only to those interested in Ancient Egypt, but also to those interested in the history of ideas, philosophy, language and communication. ***MJ***

★★★★★

HISTORY VS HOLLYWOOD

Fact versus fiction on the silver screen

JUDGMENT AT NUREMBERG

Director: Stanley Kramer **Starring:** Spencer Tracy, Burt Lancaster, Marlene Dietrich **Country:** Germany **Year:** 1961

A balanced and challenging examination of justice in post-Nazi Germany

B

VERDICT: A stunning film that uses history as a backbone for powerful courtroom drama.

01 While the film's story is largely a fictional one, it is based on the events of the trial of 16 defendants, judges and prosecutors of the German Ministry of Justice, for facilitating war crimes and crimes against humanity. In the film only four people are accused.

02 Much of the film was shot on a set, rebuilding Courtroom 600 of the Palace of Justice building where the real judges' trial took place. The level of detail has been praised by historians with even the decorations around the doors matched to the original.

03 Chief Judge Dan Haywood (Spencer Tracy) is seen on several occasions to go wandering around Nuremberg itself, including to the Nazi party rally grounds where the party's famous rallies were held. This was all shot on location in the city of Nuremberg.

04 As with the characters, the cases raised in the trial are fictional, but based on real events. Judy Garland appears as a woman who was accused of having a relationship with a Jewish man who was killed as a result. This was based on the genuine Katzenberger case.

05 Real footage from the liberation of the concentration camps is used, being the first time such documentary footage from Allied troops was seen in a mainstream film. However, it would not have been admissible as evidence at the real trial.

All images: © Alamy, © Getty Images

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THE ULTIMATE HISTORY COOKBOOK
available now

Did you know?

'Scrapple' is derived from panhaskroppel, meaning a slice of panhas and reference to use of off-cuts or 'scrap'.

Ingredients

- 1.5kg of boneless pork butt
- 1kg of bone-in pork such as ribs, hocks or shank
- 1 large onion peeled and quartered
- Whole bulb of garlic
- 5 large bay leaves
- 1½ tbsp of black peppercorns
- 2 tsp of salt
- 12 large fresh sage leaves
- 2 sprigs of fresh thyme
- ½ tsp dried oregano
- 128g cornmeal
- ½ tsp ground white pepper
- ½ tsp cayenne
- ½ tsp ground black pepper
- 64g all-purpose flour

Main image: © Alamy
Inset image: © Getty Images

SCRAPPLE

A FRUGAL DISH FROM EARLY AMERICAN COLONISTS, USA, 17TH CENTURY – PRESENT

While scrapple is associated with modern Pennsylvania, its origins actually go back to the German immigrants to North America from the 16th century who brought their recipe for panhas or pan haas, meaning 'panhare/rabbit', with them as they arrived in the New World. As settlers increasingly looked to develop their self-reliance on this new continent, trading and growing produce locally and not depending on imports from Europe, recipes such as this would likely have grown in appeal.

The key reason for this is that scrapple is derived from pork offcuts, including organs such as livers and hearts, so that once all the choice cuts and sausage materials were taken from the butchered pig, nothing would go to waste. The end product is something between a sausage, meatloaf and blood pudding and is usually served as a breakfast accompaniment. Some traditional recipes call for using a whole pig's head, but we've opted for a modern take that uses more commonly found ingredients.

METHOD

01 Place the meat, cut into large sections if needed to fit, in a large stockpot.

02 Add the onion, garlic, bay leaves, peppercorns and salt and then cover with enough water to submerge the ingredients. Bring to a boil then simmer on low heat for 3 hours (or until meat is fork tender).

03 Remove meat from the pot with a slotted spoon and set aside in a large bowl. Strain the broth through a fine mesh strainer into a second large bowl and discard the solids.

04 Once the meat has cooled to the touch, begin to shred it. Discard remaining bones. These elements can be refrigerated for working with later at this point.

05 Take about one litre of the broth to a large saucepan, adding the sage, thyme, oregano, cayenne and white pepper. Bring to a boil then reduce to a simmer for 5 minutes.

06 Remove the leaves to a chopping board with a slotted spoon and finely chop, setting aside once done.

07 Gradually add the cornmeal to the broth, which should still be on the heat, and stir well to make sure it's incorporated. Bring the mixture to a boil and then reduce to a simmer again, stirring frequently for about 15 minutes or until the mixture has thickened.

08 Gradually run the shredded meat through a food processor (or meat grinder for a more traditional texture) until fine chopped. Combine with the cornmeal mixture, chopped herbs and black pepper in a large bowl. Season to taste at this stage.

09 Add the mixture to a lined loaf pan, cover and refrigerate until firm, at least 3 hours.

10 To finally cook your scrapple to eat, heat your preference of oil in a large skillet. Remove your scrapple loaf from the pan and slice off 1cm thick cuts. Dredge in the flour and then fry in batches until crisp and golden brown, about 3-4 minutes on each side.

11 Drain on a paper towel and serve with fried eggs and fried potatoes.

NEXT MONTH THE GENIUS OF NIKOLA TESLA ON SALE 13 JULY

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June Record Highlights*

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New York, U.S., Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists (including Castle Garden and Ellis Island), 1820-1957 – **UPDATED**

Australia and New Zealand, Newspapers.com™ Marriage Index, 1800s-current – **UPDATED**

*Record collections subject to change.

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